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NOTES ON THE ACHEWA AND ANGONI OF THE DOWA DISTRICT OF THE NYASALAND PROTECTORATE.

[WITH MAPS 1 AND 2.]

By A. G. O. HODGSON.

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I.—ENVIRONMENT.

1. Geographical Introduction.

THE Nyasaland Protectorate consists of a strip of land some five hundred miles in length and approximately seventy miles in width, lying around the southern and western shores of Lake Nyasa, which is the most southerly and the third in size of the great East African lakes. The hot, low-lying plain which forms part of the Rift valley rises gradually from an altitude of 120 feet on the Lower Shire River to 1,800 feet at the level of the lake. To the west of this

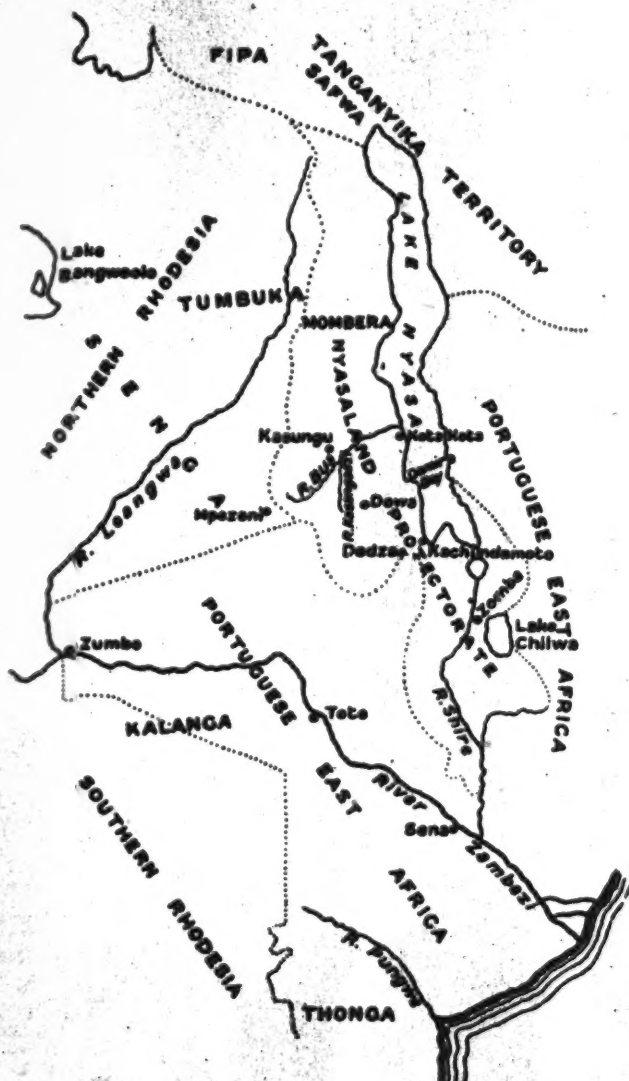
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A. G. O. HODGSON.—Notes on the Lakes and Angoni of the

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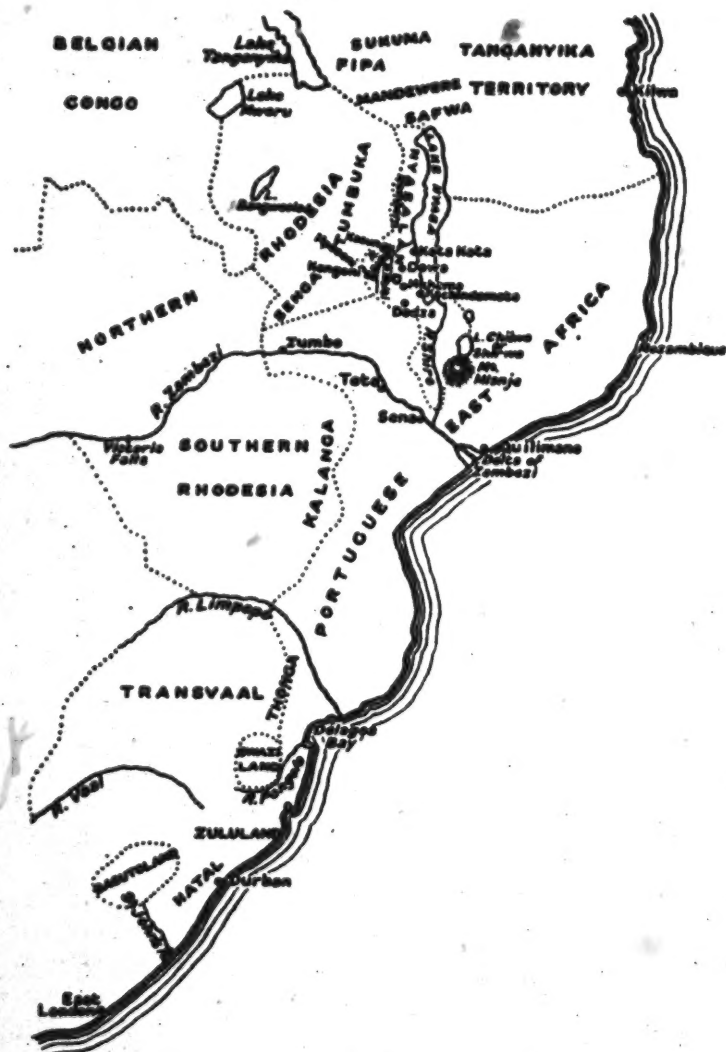


Map 1.

Dunes District of the Nyanaland Protectorate.

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MAP 2.

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[131] plain is a moderately temperate, undulating plateau, standing from 3,000 to 5,000 feet above sea-level and broken by ranges of mountains whose peaks tower several thousand feet higher.

The Dowa District is situated in the centre of the Protectorate. Its area of 2,400 square miles is divided topographically into three nearly equal parts, the alluvial lake-shore plain on the east giving way to the encroachment of the hilly plateau in the centre, which again drops steeply on the west to another plain extending to the banks of the Bas River. Each plain is well covered with light timber and long grass, and contains a plentiful supply of all local varieties of game. Tsetse have long infested the lake shore; on the west, migrating from Rhodesia, they crossed the Bas as recently as 1914 and have now spread as far as the hills. The central plateau is cool and healthy. Formerly well timbered, it has since been denuded by the wasteful methods of the native inhabitants. It is free from tsetse and mosquitoes, and cattle thrive in consequence. The larger species of game are absent.

2. Sociological Introduction.

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131 The census of 1926, taken at the time when these notes were compiled, shows the population of the District as consisting of 57,184 Achewa,^{*} 38,344 Angoni, 93 Anyanja and 4,637 Wayao, together with an odd thousand belonging to other tribes. The Achewa live principally in the west and centre, the Angoni on the central plateau, and the Anyanja and Wayao on the lake shore. The same census gives a total of 247,000 Angoni and 470,000 Anyanja and Achewa out of 1,300,000 natives then settled in the Protectorate.

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174 The two last-named tribes taken together are numerically the largest in Nyasaland, and they have probably lived in their present habitat longer than any others; but the exact duration of their residence can only be a matter for conjecture, since the history of the southern Bantu peoples, during the last four centuries at any rate, consists of one long series of migrations and invasions. From time to time clans and tribes have been united under a strong and powerful leader, and a few decades later disintegration has set in and they have almost vanished. New names have frequently been adopted, and few tribes in south-east Africa now bear the same designation and occupy the same ground as did their ancestors four hundred years ago. Oral tradition is supplemented but scantily by the reports of the early Portuguese explorers, who first ascended the Zambezi River at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Their objects were commercial rather than scientific, and they have left little record of the native peoples with whom they came in contact.

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175 It is known, however, that the Achewa and Anyanja are off-shoots or descendants of the A-maravi, who inhabited the country north of the Zambezi at Sena and Tete in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In his Report upon the Rivers of Cuama (Zambezi) compiled in 1667 Father Manuel Barreto states that this warlike tribe was governed by its emperor, named Casanga, whose kingdom extended two hundred leagues up the river from the port of

* Tribal names in Nyasaland generally take the plural prefix A-, as A-ngoni, A-chewa, sometimes Wo-, as Wo-yao. The singular prefix is M-, as Mgundi, Myao. Further south, Ab-, Aha- and Ama- are more common, e.g. Aha-Xgumi, Aha-Mbe, Ama-Ndandwa. For the sake of convenience, when there is no danger of confusion between prefix and stem, I have omitted the hyphen.

Dowa District of the Nyasaland Protectorate.

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Quillimane and included all the Macoa and many other people and vast provinces as far as Mombasa.¹ It may also have embraced part of what is now Nyasaland, since Lake Maravi, slightly to the north-west of the actual position of Lake Nyasa, figures in Portuguese maps of 1546 and 1623.² In 1660, the people living round Dedza, fifty miles south of Dowa, still described themselves as Amaravi,³ and even now among the Achewa and Anyanja there may be found old men who will say, "We are Amaravi"; but this time-honoured designation has practically disappeared, and has been replaced by "Chewa" north of Dedza, "Mang'anja" on the Shire River, and "Nyanja" round Lakes Shirwa and Nyasa.⁴ The Achewa living round Dedza and to the south of Dowa are frequently called "Achipeta," but this is nothing more nor less than a nickname bestowed upon them at the time of the Ngoni raids because they fled and hid themselves in the *chipeta* (long grass) country. In speech, manners and customs they do not differ from the Achewa of the north. [175] [101] [726]

The tradition of the Dowa Achewa is that they came from the Maravi country on the Zambezi many, many years ago, and finding people of very small stature in the country lying south-west of Lake Nyasa, they killed them and settled in their country.⁵ [173]

Later, probably towards the end of the eighteenth century, their paramount chief, Karonga,⁶ made his headquarters on the Nkadzapula stream near the present site of Kachindamoto's village, and his four brothers Mwase Kampani, Mwimba, Gebisa and Chipwaira collected a following and emigrated in a north-westerly direction to seek new lands, adopting at the same time the name "Achewa" in order to distinguish themselves from the parent stock. Mwimba and his company halted at the Bua, and settled near Kongoni's, while the others pressed on to the Dwangwa and Loangwa Rivers in the country then inhabited by the Atumbuka. In 1831 Monteiro reported that these "Tombokas were serfs of the Chevas"; the name of the well-known chief, Mwase, first appears in Portuguese records seven years earlier⁷; and in 1863 [643] [101] [167] [175]

¹ G. M. Theal: *Records of South East Africa*, vol. iii, p. 464 et seq.

² J. S. Kettle: *The Partition of Africa*, p. 48.

³ David and Charles Livingstone: "The Zambesi and its Tributaries," map.

⁴ *Nyasa* in the Yao and *nyanja* in the Chewa or Nyanja language both mean lake, or broad river. Mang'anja is, of course, another variation of Nyanja.

⁵ This legend is current also among the Amang'anja further south, and Sir Harry Johnston (*British Central Africa*, p. 53) states that the natives living around Mianje Mountain informed him that people of the Bushman-Hottentot type were living on the upper plateau until quite recently, but in spite of intensive search no trace of their remains has been found.

In the Harvard African Studies III, *Varia Africana* III, on p. 318, Dr. H. S. Stannus refers to the mythical "little people" of the Anyanja and Wayao, who are supposed to dwell on the tops of high mountains. They are small and fierce, wearing long beards and carrying spears, and are said to damage gardens at night. He suggests that in them we may see the transition from historical fact to fairy story.

⁶ The same name as Karonga, who is referred to above. The A-mang'anja use Karonga as a form of address when they wish to show respect to anyone. Chilembwe is used in a similar sense. (Cf. also *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1910, xi, p. 308). The A-mang'anja called their paramount chief Lundu or Rondo, and Barreto's report mentions a kingdom of Bororo, extending up the river from Quillimane, subject to Rondo, the second person in the empire of Maravi. L and r are interchangeable in these languages.

⁷ E. H. L. Poole: *Journal African Society*, vol. xxx, No. cxix, p. 184 et seq.

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175 Livingstone found chief Mwase, at Kasungu, ruling over "a section of Mang'anja, called Machewa, or Machohi."

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175 For some years the Achewa enjoyed a peaceful existence in their new home, keeping
648 cattle, but living mainly by agriculture, until their tranquility was disturbed by the Nguni
[241] invasion and by the slave raids of the Jumbo³ at Kota Kota. By these the eastern branch of
167 Achewa was continually harassed; and consequently in 1883 Dunde, Kanyenda and others
of the house of Karonga moved south to the Kamagadzi and Miti Rivers, and in 1896 handed
over this part of the country to the protection of the British Government.

N
175 The Angoni, under the name of Manita, were described by Livingstone as Zulus,⁴ and
101 this terminological error has been copied by more than one subsequent writer. Of their earlier
N wanderings no record has been traced. Owing, perhaps, to their lighter colour it has been sur-
174 mised that they came from far up the east coast; but it is known that under the style of
Abe-nguni, derived from an ancient chief Mnguni, they were settled on the Dedesi, a small
tributary of the upper St. John's River, when the Abe-mbo first arrived in Natal about 1820.⁵
In this locality they remained for a couple of centuries, till towards the end of his reign the
notorious Zulu king Chaka fell upon their allies the Ama-ndwandwe under Zwile. A section
of the Abe-nguni then migrated northwards under Zwangendaba; and wherever they went
they fought and subdued the peoples through whose country they passed, seizing cattle and
incorporating captives in their own tribe. After raiding the Abe-suto, Ama-swazi, Abe-thonga⁶
and Ama-kalanga, they crossed the Zambezi near Zumbo at the time of the total eclipse of the
sun on the 19th of November, 1835,⁶ and overran the territories of the Abe-senga, A-tumbuka,
A-safwa and A-mandewere till they came to the land of the Wa-sipa and Wa-sukuma.

Here Zwangendaba (or Songandawa, as he is generally called in Nyasaland) died, and his
following broke up and scattered in different directions. While others advanced to the north
and east, four sections turned back, one under Mombwa to the Tumbuka country, another under
Mpeneni to the Loangwa river, the third under Chiwere to Dowa, and the fourth under Chikusi
still further south. It is with the third section that we are now dealing. The hybrid nature of
the Dowa Angoni can be inferred from the list of clans given in a subsequent section (IV, 2).
During the last four decades they have intermarried still further with the Achewa, and there are
now few, if any, pure-blooded Angoni in the district. Their paramount chief, Chiwere, though
calling himself an Mngoni, is in reality an Moenga.

The general features, characteristics and habits of these peoples are akin to those of neigh-
bouring tribes which have been described by the Reverend Duff Macdonald,⁷ Miss Alice Werner

¹ D. and C. Livingstone: *loc. cit.*, pp. 536, 548.

² A court Arab, acting as wali, or representative, of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

³ D. and C. Livingstone: *loc. cit.*, p. 381.

⁴ Eric A. Walker: *Historical Atlas of South Africa*, p. 6. J. H. Soga: *The South-Eastern Bantu*, pp. 81, et seq.

⁵ In *ph* and *th* each consonant is pronounced. Similarly, in *en* and *on* each vowel is pronounced.

⁶ E. H. L. Poole: *Journal African Society*, vol. xix, No. cxv, p. 290.

⁷ Rev. Duff Macdonald, *Africana*. Miss Alice Werner, *The Natives of British Central Africa*. Dr. H. B. Stammers, *The Wages of Nyasaland*, Harvard African Studies III, *Varia Africana* III, pp. 229-272, "Notes on Some Tribes of British Central Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xl, 1910, pp. 262-265, etc., etc.

Down District of the Nyasaland Protectorate.

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Dr. H. S. Stannus and other writers, and I have attempted, therefore, in the following pages to confine myself to matters which, so far as I know, have not been recorded fully elsewhere. The present tense is generally used, though in many instances, during forty years of contact with missionary and other European influence, the custom described may have fallen wholly or partially into desuetude. Except where otherwise stated, the notes may be taken as referring to the Chewa tribe.

II. DOMESTIC LIFE: MARITAL.

1. *Mdulo*. (Chewu).

Mdulo (a noun derived from *ku-dula*, to cut or break off) is the causing of illness in oneself or another person by indulging in sexual intercourse at prohibited times, or, more rarely, by abstaining therefrom when it is prescribed. The following are examples of cases in which the misfortune of *mdulo* is conferred:

- (a) Upon a husband by his wife if he eats food into which she has put salt either during her periods or after she has committed adultery.
- (b) Upon an unweaned child by its father—
 - (1) if he fails to achieve connexion after its birth (*vide infra* II, 7);
 - (2) if he commits adultery in his own house when the child is there;
 - (3) if he has connexion with his wife on the child's blanket when the child is sleeping in the house; or
 - (4) if he occupies the same house with two wives, and has connexion with the other in the temporary absence of the child and its mother.
- (c) Upon an unweaned child by its mother if she leaves its *mbereko* outside the house while she has intercourse and afterwards puts the child into it again. In the event of such a contretemps the *mbereko* must always be given away to someone else.
- (d) Upon the womb of a wife by her husband—
 - (1) if he commits adultery when she is pregnant and then eats with her out of the same pot.
 - (2) When a man has two wives, he normally spends a week or two with each in turn. If, when one is pregnant, he leaves her for an abnormally long period, he must not return to her until after she has given birth, otherwise he will thereby "cut off" the womb. The result of this misadventure is that the wife will die in child-birth, or the child will be still-born or will die shortly after birth.
- (e) Upon a boy in the *bunko*² by his parents—
 - (1) when the boy comes to their house in their absence and helps himself to meat or food from a pot, if the parents have intercourse on their return and then give him meat from the same piece or food from the pot;

¹ *Mbereko*, the cloth or skin fastened round a mother's neck or shoulder and hung on her back, in which she carries her child till it is weaned, that is, till it has reached the age of two or three years. The *mbereko*, when made of tanned skin is often decorated gaily with bands. *Ku-beka* is the verb meaning to carry in this way.

² *Bunko*, the communal open space in a village. Boys of five or six years of age, who are too old to continue to sleep with their parents, go to a communal hut until they are married. This hut is known as the "bunko" hut, and the boys are said to be "in the bunko."

- 753
684
833
[755] (1) Upon a girl by her parents unless they refrain from intercourse during her first menstruation (*vide infra*, section 2 on Puberty).
- [622] (2) Upon the village headman by a girl—
 (1) unless he abstains from sexual intercourse during her first menstruation;
 (2) if she becomes pregnant before she has passed through the puberty ceremonies described in the following section.
- [535] (3) Upon any of the other actors in a *vingaw* dance (*vide infra*, IV, 3) on any occasion by one of their number who eats with them on the following day after having failed to observe the rule of sexual abstinence until the final night when intercourse with their own wives is compulsory.
- [317]
[263] (4) Upon the other members of a party who have made a journey together to procure salt by any one of them who fails to comply with the regulation whereby all are compelled to take it together; and upon the wife or children of any member unless he gives them some of it before enjoying his conjugal rights on his return.
- [764] (5) Upon all who sleep at the hut of the deceased during a funeral by any one of them who does not abstain from sexual intercourse.

755 When anyone suspects that he or she is a victim of *ndulo*, the culprit is discovered by the *ving'anga*² and subjected to the *manberi*³ trial by ordeal. The illness has no specified form, but it invariably terminates fatally unless the following precautions are taken. The offender must call a doctor and the sick person to his house, where the doctor cuts up roots of the plant [824] *ndiyapumbwa*, and ties the pieces into two small bundles (*rikunje*). Next, the doctor kills a chicken by piercing it with a sharp stick from vent to mouth, plucks it, and puts it with water and one of the bundles of roots into a pot, which he boils on the fire. Then he puts salt into a *chicheze* (basket strainer used for making salt), and pours in water. The offender also pours in water, and if it is his child who was sick, his wife, marriage witnesses and relations do the same. The doctor then pours the mixture into the pot, places a second pot on top, and plasters up the intervening space with clay. When the concoction has been thoroughly boiled, the offender places the pots near the door and pulls off the top one, whereupon the sick person covers over the other under cover of a blanket to prevent the fumes escaping, and remains there as long as he can. When a father has "cut off" his child, he holds him in his arms, and both inhale [262] the fumes together. Then the doctor cooks porridge in another pot, and puts it in an *asengus*

² *Kundaberi* or *pandaberi* consists of the ashes of burnt roots. This meaning is also given in the Rev. D. C. Scott's *Cyclopaedia Dictionary of the Mang'anja Language*. Dr. H. B. Stannus, in his "Notes on Some Tribes of British Central Africa," *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xl, 1910, on page 265, refers to *pfundaberi* as being made of red earth and castor oil and used by the Anyanja as a protection for infants against the sun.

³ *Ving'anga*, the doctor or medicine man.

[695] ⁴ The bark of the *manberi* tree (*erythrophloeum guineense*) is highly poisonous and is commonly administered to, or taken voluntarily by, persons suspected of witchcraft or other crimes.

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(shallow basket), from which both offender and victim help themselves, first dipping each mouthful into the pot containing the chicken. After this, the doctor roasts the other roots; when charred (now known as *kundobwi*), these also are dipped in the pot and eaten. Then the second bundle of roots is mixed with a light gruel of flour and water, and eaten by both parties, and the ceremony is over. In accordance with the practice customary in all cases of sickness, the doctor receives a small present when called, and has not the temerity to claim his full fee until the cure is complete. 755 [262]

2. Puberty: *Chinamwali* (Chewa initiation of girls).

When a Chewa girl first menstruates, the first person to be aware of the fact reports it immediately to the girl's mother, using the formula "*wayola lene*" (she has broken the reed arrow shaft). The mother tells the father, who in turn reports at once to the village headman. The parents then select two women friends, who take the girl about and sleep with her during the ceremonies. These are known as *apwangu*, the senior one taking the lead, and the junior one following. During the next three days, the girl and her *apwangu* sleep in her mother's house: the mother remains, but the father must sleep elsewhere. The village headman must abstain from sexual intercourse during this period, otherwise *ndulo* will result; and on the fourth day the father reports that the girl is well again, and presents him with a fowl known as *Nkhosya ya kundobwi*. The headman then makes *kundobwi* medicine, which the mother mixes with the food which she and the father share the same evening. The mother and female relations then shave the girl's head without any special ceremony, and throw the hair away. [622] [302]

The *apwangu* are also partially shaved. This is known as the first *kuseta* (shaving).

If the girl is already married, as is generally the case, she continues to live with her husband during the ensuing month, at the end of which, after giving her a mat and an *asagwusa* basket, he is sent away till the second *kuseta*. The parents also give her a mat and an *asagwusa*, and they must refrain from intercourse and from putting salt into her food until she has resumed cohabitation. [582] [431] [263] [867]

The real ceremonies take place some time after the second month, and always in the slack season following the harvest. A girl may then be "danced" alone, or with any number of others. If there are nine or ten girls in one village, and the harvest has been a good one, they may be divided into two or three groups. The husband now brings a gift, as for example, two *malikere* (sifting baskets), two *asagwusa* and four fowls, to which the parents add a rather smaller contribution; and in the evening the *asambwanga*¹ take them all as presents to the village headman. The headman puts the gifts inside the house, and asks when they intend to shave the girl. Having already commenced the preparations for the beer, they reply that they will collect firewood next day. The parents select two fresh *apwangu*, and the female [431]

¹ The *asagwusa* is used constantly by women in their work, and is regarded as a symbol of womanhood. [885]

² In every village there are three male and three female *asambwanga*, or instructors of youth, selected principally for their task on account of their knowledge of medicines. One of each sex is always old, and has no duty beyond that of giving advice, whereas the others are younger, and take the active parts demanded of them. [867]

88/ enenbungwi announce their decision to the male enenbungwi, who pass the news round the village. In the evening the *Vingwa*¹ dancers repair to the *liande* and discuss their programme for the dance.

[575]

88/ Next day (*tsiku lifulula*) they are busy collecting materials and taking them to the *dambos*. There they fashion an *ankandwe* (jackal) by cutting the large end of a gourd, smoothing the edges, and fastening a piece of goatskin over the opening and pegging it down round the side.

575

[534]

[825]

The skin is bored in the centre, and through the hole is inserted a piece of *malasa* (fan palm leaf rib) till it protrudes at the narrow end, whence it is pulled with spittle-covered fingers, a small cross-piece of stick preventing it from slipping right through. If a couple of fingers wetted with spittle are now drawn along it, a noise is emitted like the cry of a jackal, *We! We!* Two of these *ankandwe* are operated by unmarried youths, so that no one will know who is doing it. The girl resumes cohabitation with her husband that night; the young men keep up their jackals' cries till late, and the women of the village respond with their *ankungulu* (cry of joy, *ngulu*

[833]

[768]

). When not in use, the *ankandwe* are hidden until required again in a *ngumba* *go masiga* (house which is deserted after its occupier's death).

Next morning (*tsiku lobwenzi*, also known on this occasion as *tsiku la chikululu* or the day of the rascal) at early dawn the jackal's cry is again heard. It serves as a signal for the female *enenbungwi* to proceed to the girl's hut, whence they drag her forth simulating terror and alarm,

[291]

her cloth, which is normally fastened above the breasts, now wound round her waist and between her legs. The *ankandwe* are similarly clothed. The style of attire on this occasion is known by the special name of *tevuva* or *ankandwe*, and it is retained till the close of the ceremonies. The *ankandwe* then return to the *dambos* to assist the others in constructing the figures. About two o'clock the women of the village take the girl into the bush with their mats and the drums, and spend some time "instructing" her. It is said that they teach her secret songs, strip her naked, make her climb a tree, etc. Then they all return to the village singing. "*Chikululu chikululu, chikululu chikululu*," the rascal has mended her ways; one of the *enenbungwi* holds an *nsoraga* in each hand and flaps her arms up and down; the men arrive and seize the drums and den their rattles; and the *anjalo* dance begins, the women pouring flour on the girl's head

[535]

in imitation of a *chikululu*, placing her astride another woman's shoulders, and dancing round with her. At sunset the men go to the *dambos*, while the women place the girl prostrate on the ground, gather round her, remove the flour and hide it by trampling it into the dust. Then the men proceed to the *liande*, where they feast on meat and other food provided by the parents, who also supply the headman and the women with their quota. When they have dined, *lululu* always commences the dance. He receives two mats from the parents as his fee, and dances

[465]

on them till he is tired, when he is replaced by a *chikululu*, and two of the younger members roll up his mats and carry them to the *liande*. The next *ankandwe* is always *chikululu*; and after the second *chikululu* follows *hanga*, whose business it is to chastise the girl driving her round and round the outside with a long stick. She is ordered to kneel down before him, and should she show any reluctance, it is interpreted as a sign of an evil heart, and earth is thrown at her till

¹ In order to appreciate what follows it is necessary to read first the sections on *Bumaching* and *Vingwa* (IX, 1 and IV, 3).

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she complies. When her mother thinks she has had enough, she presents a fowl to *chikanda*, 881
who then retires to the *liwale*. The other *mikhwala* follow without any set order of precedence, 595
and dancing is kept up till midnight. Finally, after the men have gone to bed, one of the
women takes two *sangus*, covers them over with clean cloths, and pulls her own cloth over her
head; some of the other women go to bed, but the *anambungwi* and the *chikwa* ones gather round
her. They hold up hoe handles round which they have tied pieces of rag, and sing to the girls:

" *Chikanda, chikanda, chikanda,*
Chikanda m'drako, chikanda m'mama,
Chikanda chikanda."

[539]

Chikanda means the trunk of an elephant, which is symbolized by the hoe handle; and the
song is an instruction to the girls to use regularly at certain periods the cloth worn by a woman [841]
capable of bearing children.

Then they proceed to the headman's house and receive a present (*supo*), the woman with [431]
the baskets keeping her head covered so that he may not know who she is. Then the girl
retires with her *apungu* and the three female *anambungwi* to sleep in the hut in which the beer
was made, now vacated by its other occupants.

The following day, *tsiku lopsa*, is known as *tsiku la chingondo*. In the early morning the
women take the girl into the bush and cover her all over with flour. This process is known as [535]
chingondo. Then they dance in the *bundo* while the men beat drums till about 8 o'clock, when
they take her again into the bush and perform a ceremony known as *fulowi*, which consists
principally of chasing the girl about and reminding her of her past sins, the women having
previously been bribed with beads by the parents to chastise her for any particular faults which
they name. Her mother is not allowed to be present. At dusk the men bring the *vingu* to the
liwale, and after eating in their houses they begin to dance at the *marinda*. On this evening [535]
there is no particular order of precedence; but it is the only occasion on which the *mikhwala* [431]
chikupira and *chambete* appear, and each of them receives a present of a mat.

On the morning of the third day (*tsiku lankumbula*, now called *tsiku la timbewina*) they
work at the *dambos* on *ajobu* and the other figures, and the father of each girl sends them baskets
of flour and fowls, adding a goat if he is rich enough. When they have finished, *ajobu* is left
outside the village, and the women place a pot of beer in front of him. Meanwhile, the women
have made the girl a headdress known as *timbewina*. This consists of a mud cast held into posi- [292]
tion on the head with a cloth until dry, with a row of long feathers such as the tail feathers of
the *mburukuru* (Livingstone's turaco) or *ngosi* (black whistling bird) sticking out along the
centre from back to front. The *tevesa* is now discarded, and the girl is adorned with beads and
dressed in new cloths, one of which is fastened under the arms and the other round the waist [301]
with the ends hanging down behind. The *apungu* at the same time don smaller *timbewina*,
and change their attire.

The *vingu* appear in the afternoon, *chikanda* leading. After they have danced awhile in [535]
the *marinda*, *mbikwisi* plays a special part, leading the girl to the homes of her relations, accom- [838]
panied by four *mbika* (men dressed as women with false breasts of bananas). First they dance

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[431] round the house of an adult sister, who gives them presents (*masupu*). About sunset they accost the mother, who gives them two mats, then the village headman, who gives them one mat, and finally the husband, who gives them two mats. Thence to the village *liunde*, where the *anambungwi* remove the *timboide* and throw it away. Then they take the girl away; wash [302] her in a stream, and shave her pubic hairs after having partially shaved those of the *aphungu*; and bring her back to the *liunde*, where they place her on a mat. The husband, who has previously shaved his pubic hairs, takes his seat by her side carrying the symbols of manhood, a bow in one hand and an axe in the other, while his wife holds an *asungu*. He then dances [562] round with his bow and axe, while she kneels before him. The *anambungwi* next take a small cup of beer, and shave the heads of the girl and the husband, and a little round the sides of those of the *aphungu*. Then, while the men drink beer, the female *anambungwi* take the girl home; eat porridge with her; tell her that this is her house, that she must bring water every morning for her husband and cook his food; and before departing give other final instructions as to her behaviour. Having at length left her to await her husband, they go with other married women [622] to the house of the village headman, and uncover their private parts. While the headman gazes at them, his wife is present, and feels his penis. If he is excited, it is a bad sign, for all his people are as his children, and he should be able to look at them without carnal desire. If he is not excited, they know that he is a father worthy to superintend their initiations.

[535] About nine o'clock, dancing is resumed, *mbonongo*, *luzinga*, and *njobu* beginning. Finally they take all the mats and *cingu* to the *liunde*, leaving only *njobu* and *asulu* and two *cingu* in the *acinde*.¹

At dawn on the *tsiku la kumasa*, or *tsiku la kumata*, *Njobu* begins to dance, while four *Ajere* cut at him with their axes, and men howl outside in the bush like hymnas waiting for his death. He then receives two mats from the headman, two mats from the husband [431] and one from the father, and proceeds to the *liunde*. The *Ajere* dance awhile together before following him. Everything is now burnt at the *dambos*, except the *ngunda* of *njobu*, *mbonongo*, *chirudo* and other large milkwoods, which are hidden for future use in a *nyumba ya masisi*, or an old graveyard. The dancers finish off the beer and bathe; and next morning the *chivinda* goes to the *liunde* and divides the presents, which have been guarded by unmarried youths in his own house.

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[553] On the morning following the *tsiku la kumasa*, the girls proceed with the *anambungwi* and *aphungu* to the house of the headman. The *anambungwi* asks the *phungu* what new name she has chosen for the girl. The *phungu* gives the new name, which is now pronounced for the first time, and the *anambungwi* informs the girl that that is now her name. This ceremony over,

[171] ¹ On pp. 267, 268 of *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1900, vol. 31, Dr. Stammers describes part of the ceremony which he witnessed on the fourth and fifth days at a Wisa village in 1907, including the performances of *njobu* and *asulu* and two *cingu* named *Shachane* and *Nyabale*. *Shachane* is the word in common use for a figure to frighten children.

Among the Wanyao also, on the second night of *chigwa*, green and bamboo representations similar to the *cingu* are brought in. (*Harvard African Studies* III, Jan. vol., p. 271.)

[224] ² In initiation of the *Nkhosho* *Ajere*, who used to kill elephants by hamstringing them with axes.

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the husband and wife are secluded in their hut for two nights and a day; if obliged to leave, they must avoid being seen. On the second day, still keeping out of sight, they go off to the bush at dawn and remain there till dusk. The following day they do the same; but in the evening the girl's mother takes them with some fresh beer to the headman; they make obeisance to him, and receive a present of cloth. Next morning they show themselves in the village and display fitting humility. Whenever the girl meets another adult woman, she prostrates herself, hiding her face in her hands; the other woman whispers in her ear, and she stands up again. The *aphungu* are similarly constrained before women older than themselves. Every man the girl meets gives her a small present, such as a penny or a little maize; in acknowledgment she may not speak, but claps her hands, and he also claps his. Neither husband nor wife may speak to anyone on that day, but on the fifth morning they resume a normal existence.

The Chewa girls are usually married a few months before puberty. The Angoni in the older days were not wed till several years later; but now they generally marry shortly after puberty, and in some cases they have begun to follow the custom of the Arhewa.

If a Chewa girl is not married when she first menstruates, a temporary substitute must be found. On the fourth day, after the *fundabwi* medicine has been procured, her father asks her eldest maternal uncle to find a *fai*.¹ This man is generally a friend decided upon beforehand by the parents, and is usually middle-aged, as, if he were a youth, the girl might want to marry him, contrary to custom. He receives a fowl from the uncle, and visits the girl by stealth that night and the next one; no one must be allowed to discover his identity, and after the second night he must not come near her again. If the girl does not like the look of the *fai* on either occasion, and refuses to have anything to do with him, he goes away and complains to the uncle, from whom he receives a fowl as compensation for the insult. The uncle reports the objection to the *aphungu*,² at once, and repeats it to the mother next morning. The mother then interviews the girl, who names a man she is willing to accept as a *fai*, and he is called on the following evening; but in the interval and until she has received the *fai*, the *aphungu* leaves her, and she must remain by herself, so that all the people know she has refused her *fai*.

If she is still unmarried at the later ceremony, she is known as a *ludjeli*, and may not be danced alone, but only in the company of one or more married girls. A second *fai* must be chosen in the same way to sleep with her on the two nights following the close of the ceremony; but he observes the same secrecy, and plays no part taken by the husband in public.

¹ Cf. also Shanson, *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1910, vol. xl, p. 315. When a Nyanja widow has been shored in the course of the funeral memorial rites, the following night "she has to sleep with a man paid by her relatives. He is called *Fai*, because he steals his identity."

This same custom obtains among the Wayao, in order that the widow may be clean for her prospective husband. The paid man is called *lilene*, which is the Yao word for hyena (Shanson, *Harvard African Studies* III, loc. cit., p. 237).

The word *lilene* may also convey a sense of ingenuosity. It is used to denote the body of an unborn child, or of a child who dies before its father and mother have resumed sexual relations. (*Harvard African Studies* III, loc. cit., p. 237)

3. Puberty: Initiation of boys (Chewa).

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575 The initiation of Chewa boys takes place at the same time as that of the girls; and during the ceremonies the boys are known as *enamwali*, which is the name in everyday use for girls who have reached the age of puberty. The arrangements are made by the boy's *mbumba* (eldest maternal uncle) with the *chiwinda*,¹ who in company with his assistants makes enquiries into the candidate's character, in order that he may be treated with greater or less severity according to his merits. The fee payable is now usually about five shillings, or a goat and three or four fowls. The father is not allowed to be present, but two male *aphuagu* are chosen to accompany the boy during the proceedings.

[465] On the *tsiku* is *chikululu* of the girls' *chinamwali*, after the jackal's cries have died away, the boy is taken by his *aphuagu* to the *dambue*, where he is warned that if he divulges anything he sees there, he and his parents will die speechless, and if he is already married, his wife will die in childbirth. Then he is stripped and blindfolded, and led to the *vingu*,² one *mikhulu*,³ being placed over him. The bandage is removed, and he finds himself in darkness. He is pulled out, and sees *vingu* all round him. The figures are pushed against him, filling him with terror; and he is told that the *mikhulu* are the spirits of far-distant ancestors, and the *viandus*⁴ those of their children, and that they have emerged from the stream. Then his trials begin. He may be tied over the fork of a tree with his head and feet downwards, or suspended head downwards from a tree over a lighted fire and swung round and round so that he may not be burnt. Sometimes the *chiwinda* and his satellites tie his hands behind his back, and push his head continually downwards, so that he nearly stumbles; or they pull him prostrate up and down a slope; take turns to pursue him round the *dambue*; press his chest till he is breathless; tie him to a tree and put warrior ants on him; roll him up in grass in which they have put gum and the itching muscuna bean, and pour water on him; smear excrement on him; or pull him backwards by a string tied round his parts while his buttocks are beaten from behind. All the while they remind him of his past peccadilloes, but in these softer times it is essential that he should be returned to his mother without any marks, and by paying a small fine of a penny or two, or a fowl, his relations are allowed to stop any particular trial when they think he has had enough. They also scoop a shallow grave, wrap the boy completely in a cloth so that he cannot see, put him in the grave, and pour earth in. A *namikungwi* whispers in his ear, telling him to wriggle upwards, so that the earth passes underneath and he is not smothered. After a time, they go away and leave him, hiding nearby to see what he will do. Presently, having heard no sounds, he gets up to see what is happening, and finds no one in sight. A cowardly boy will then sometimes make a bolt for safety; but if he does, he is caught and subjected to more severe punishment. At the *dambue* each boy eats with his *aphuagu*, the elder of whom kills a fowl by splitting it with a sharpened root from vent to mouth in order that the medicine from the root may permeate it entirely. After it has been plucked and roasted, they eat it with porridge, and finally devour the charred remains of the root. On each night of their trial the boys sleep with their *aphuagu* in the *bunko hut*,⁵ and on the last evening they are made to sit in the cold water of the stream, after which they are presented with fowls to signify that all is over and that no malice is borne on either side.

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Finally, on the *tsiku la kumusu*, after they have taken away *njobu's* five mats, they bring back the boy *anamweli* from the *liunde* to the *mwinda*, each boy carrying a mat. They dance to the drums without *vingwe*, and the women make them small presents (*masupo*). Then they put the *masache* rattles on the boy *anamweli* and their *aphungu*, who dance till their friends and relations have twice given them *masupo*. Then the youths who were initiated during the preceding year put on the *masache* and dance till they also have earned *masupo* from their friends and relations.

Then the older ones *obwa* and dance again, and receive *masupo* from the women. Finally, all the men and boys join in dancing the *chizamba*, after which they proceed to the *liunde*, where they form a chain, each one grasping the waist of the one in front, the *anamweli* in the middle. Thus they return to the *mwinda*, singing, "*Ndamwale mthamwa kuliyale*" (It is good to run about early in the morning), and dance till the women *supa* them. After another retreat to the *liunde*, they return carrying sticks. Armed with these, they go round to every house for presents of beer, beads, etc., picking up en route anything they see lying about, and demanding ransom from the owners. On the morning following the *tsiku la kumusu*, the boys precede the girls to the house of the headman, and each boy receives from his *phungu* the new name which he will henceforth carry through life. During the next two nights, the boys sleep again in the *bwale* hut with their *aphungu*; and for three days they may not see their mothers, nor talk to anyone except their *aphungu* and each other, unless a man or woman first gives them a small present. The *aphungu* similarly may not address men older than themselves. On the third evening, the *aphungu* take each boy to his mother, and tell her, "This is your son; his name is now so-and-so." The boy is told that this is his mother's house, and that he must not go to his father's bed, nor take anything in the absence of his parents, nor ask for anything that he is not given. This exhortation concluded, the mother presents the *aphungu* with a fowl apiece, and they and the boy are free to do as they will.

No form of circumcision is practised either by the Achewa or the Angoni.

4. Forbidden and enjoined unions (Chewa).

The Achewa are matrilineal and matrilocal. Grandfather and cousin marriage were formerly in vogue; and every eldest son was obliged first to marry a daughter of his mother's eldest brother, if there was one. After having done this he could choose his other wives himself. Even now this cousin marriage is the common practice, though its non-observance results no longer in a case stated before the chief. A man might marry his father's father's wives, his son's son's wives or his son's daughter, but not his daughter's daughter; nowadays, such cases are rare.

It was formerly deemed incestuous to marry anyone of the same clan, even though of a different tribe, but not to marry anyone of a different clan with the same tabu. This custom, though still favoured by the older men, is now falling into disuse. Incest was sometimes practised to increase the effect of unlawful medicine; but the perpetrator was suspected of witchcraft and, when detected, was always punished by death. It is still considered a serious

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582 offence to marry or to have connexion with a dwarf or grossly deformed person, and damages
[732] may be claimed by the guardian of the girl. It is still considered a serious

5. Forms of Marriage (Chewa).

584 There is no condition of betrothal; but the marriage may be contracted long before the girl is old enough for consummation, and in such a case she must abstain from intercourse with any other man, just as though the marriage had been consummated. If, however, she is married before she can know her own mind, and subsequently refuses to have intercourse with the husband when approaching puberty, she is not held to the contract.

Marriage is contracted by the suitor in the first place by sending a friend (known as the *ankhose*, or witness) to the girl's *mtsiwuni* (mother's eldest brother), who calls her mother and father, relations and headman. If the friend returns with an affirmative reply, the suitor goes with his *ankhose*, who present a fowl to the girl's *ankhose*, who pass it on to her *mtsiwuni*, and the marriage is then valid. The payment is only symbolic; but, nowadays, it is frequently increased to three or four shillings, or a goat; and sometimes by agreement the Ngoni custom of bride-price (*vide infra* II, 11) is followed altogether. There must not be less than two *ankhoses* on each side; generally, there are two or three, rarely more than four or five, and not necessarily the same number on each side. Fathers, father's brothers and mother's brothers are ineligible, but younger brothers are frequently chosen. After beer has been consumed by the *ankhose*, the bridegroom commences to build a house for his bride in her mother's village, and cohabitation is supposed not to commence before it is finished.

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6. Customary Licence and Illicit Unions (Chewa).

836 Unchastity before marriage is the custom, but a strict line is drawn between concubinage and marriage. In the former state, no rights are acquired nor obligations incurred, and the woman is entitled to leave without assigning any reason and to take her children with her; but if the partnership continues for many years and children are born, the parties usually contract marriage in the ordinary way, and any previous children of the union are then considered to have been born in wedlock.

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7. Husband and Wife (Chewa).

578 A wife's mother is primarily responsible for her behaviour, and it is the duty of the relations generally to look after the conduct of both parties. Quarrels are first discussed by the guardians, and then by the *ankhose*, after which they are taken to the village headman, when necessary. If the wife is aggrieved, she first tells her mother; if the husband, he goes direct to the wife's *mtsiwuni*. The case is normally decided by the headman of the village in which the parties live; but when a neighbouring headman has a reputation as a judge, it may be transferred to him by mutual consent. Where the quarrel is only trivial, the party at fault is ordered to give the other a fowl in acknowledgment of the blame; in a rather more serious case, a goat may be paid. If after several quarrels it is clear that the parties cannot live amicably together, but the wife's relations like the husband and wish to keep him in their family, they sometimes give him a younger sister in place of the former wife.

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In addition to his ordinary marital duties, the husband is supposed also to help his mother-in-law in hoeing her garden, building or repairing her hut or grainstore, paying her tax, making mats or doors and performing various errands. 606

The following custom known as *chitengwa* (from *chitenga*, to take) is common, especially in the case of cousins. If after a few years the husband wishes to return to live at his mother's village, and the wife also agrees, he informs his *ankhose*, who arrange the matter with the wife's *ankhose* and relations, and hand over a fowl as evidence of the contract. Should they subsequently return to the wife's original home, arrangements are made by the *ankhose*, and the fowl, or corresponding token is restored. 591

In the second month of pregnancy, a *chisumba* dance known as *chisumwali cha mimba* (initiation of the womb) is held. In this dance, at which no men are present, the woman's stomach is handled by her fellows. The *nankungwa* asks her who will name the child, and she replies with the name of the younger brother of her father-in-law, who eventually names the child after its birth in the presence of the relations without any particular ceremony, the second name being given by the maternal grandmother. 843 [553]

If a woman becomes pregnant without having passed through the usual initiation described in section 2 of this chapter, it is considered a great disgrace, as the headman suffers *mdulo* thereby. Consequently, the *chisumba* is not danced, a *chimbwinda* being held instead in the fifth month of pregnancy. At this *chimbwinda* all the women come to the hut before daylight, wearing bark cloth, sackcloth and *maizecoba*. They then proceed to beat the husband, and carry off the wife, and dance her naked in the bush until sunset. [881] [753] [689]

Birth takes place in the dwelling hut. The midwife (*ozamba*) remains there for about a week until the navel strings (*molombo*) are severed. She then buries them under the mother's sleeping dais, so that when the child begins to crawl over it, he will derive strength therefrom. The placenta (*chibuliro*) is now buried with the navel strings. Formerly, it was buried by the midwife at night at the bottom of a refuse heap¹; but medicine-men used to lie in wait to steal it, as, when dried in the sun and mixed with medicine, it was particularly efficacious for killing people. So long as the midwife remains in the house, the husband may visit his wife in the day time, but must keep away at night. When her services have been dispensed with, he may sleep in the house, but must not resume intercourse until the end of the first month, when he presents the midwife with a fowl, and again goes in to his wife. It is said to be quite a common occurrence on such occasions for the man to be unable to complete his task "owing to the thought that the child came out where he would enter"; and the child suffers *mdulo* thereby, and will die unless the necessary medicine is administered. [754] [753]

When a man has failed to beget a child, he usually takes a second wife; and if he is still unsuccessful, he is held to be impotent. He then goes to a doctor, who gives him medicine to make him vomit forth the cause of his impotency. An impotent man (*mchimbuswiru*) frequently arranges with his wife for a friend to beget him a child secretly; and in such a case, the friend, and not the husband must first have connexion with the wife a month after birth, 842

¹ Cf. also H. S. Stannus, *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1910, vol. xl, p. 311, and *Harvard African Studies* III, loc. cit., p. 230.

842 otherwise salute of the child will still result. Medicine is taken also by women who are unable to conceive. If it fails, it is because a spirit has entered the womb; and lots are taken to find whose spirit it is, after which sacrifices are offered until the desired result is obtained.

8. Dissolution of Marriage (Chewa).

586 The Achewa have no form of legal separation by agreement, and a divorce can be effected only where adequate reason exists. A husband may not divorce his wife on account of barrenness; but he may divorce her for adultery or desertion; or if she persistently neglects to cook food, bring water or perform her other work; or if she is offensively and perpetually jealous. A wife may divorce her husband if he is impotent; or if he fails to maintain a habitable house, or to do his share of the work; or if he fails to pay her tax, feed and clothe her properly; or on account of desertion or ill-treatment. Effect is given to the divorce after the hearing of the case by the husband handing over a fowl or other token, always known as *mubeti* (an arrow), in the presence of the *ankhosi* to the wife's father, who passes it on to her *mtsiwani*.⁴ The wife always keeps the children, even if she has been at fault; though sometimes in very flagrant cases one or more fully-grown children may be awarded to the husband; and in adultery the co-respondent is obliged to pay heavy damages as compensation for the loss of the children, and the value of several years' tax is refunded by the *mtsiwani*. A woman may not be divorced while she is pregnant.

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9. Marriage of Widows (Chewa).

587 A widow may not be courted until after the conclusion of the funeral ceremonies described in Section VII. When, a few months later, she has to make her choice, she brews beer at her own house, and on the evening of the *tsiku* *loshambula* her suitors, friends and relations foregather outside; the eldest female relation holds before her pieces of (*tsere*)⁵ grass, and tells her which of the suitors each piece represents. Then she signifies her choice by taking the appropriate piece in her hand; and the old woman proceeds to the house of the chosen one, selects therefrom a knife or other small article, and hands it to the widow. In due course the bridegroom, accompanied by his friends, brings a cow, sheep, goat or fowl, according to his means, and ties it to the centre post of the widow's house, in order to get rid of the spirit of her late husband; otherwise, he will not be able to beget a child. The widow brings out beer; her relations subsequently remove the animal from the centre post, and at night the bridal pair sleep apart in the house. Next day they procure medicine from a doctor and put it in a big pot in the house; and in the evening first the man and then the woman bathes in it. That night they again abstain from conjugal intercourse; but at cockcrow, after bathing a second time in the pot, they take it outside the village to a place where two paths meet, and break it there, thus finally and completely ridding themselves of the spirit of the first husband. They return to the village before it is light, and then commence their married life.

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¹ Cf. H. B. Stanner, *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1910, vol. xl, p. 308.

² *Tsere*, a long coarse grass used for thatching.

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10. *Forbidden and Enjoined Unions (Ngoni).*

The Angoni are patrilineal, and in the case of a mixed Ngoni-Chewa marriage the child always takes the clan (*vide infra*, Section IV) of the father, whether bride-price has been paid or not. The children of brother and sister may marry each other, but not the children of two brothers or half-brothers, nor the children of two sisters or half-sisters. As with the Achewa, so also with the Angoni it is no longer considered incestuous to marry someone of the same clan. 611 582 614

11. *Forms of Marriage (Ngoni).*

When an Mngoni wishes to marry, he sends a male friend without a gift to inform the girl's father of his desire. The father calls his wife, male relations and headman to discuss the matter; and, if they agree to the proposal, the friend returns with the news to the prospective bridegroom who, several days later, despatches his *ankhoswe* with a present to the *ankhoswe* of the girl. There are always two *ankhoswe* on each side, neither more nor less. A father is ineligible; and brothers, sister's sons and fellow-villagers are generally chosen, as they are more likely to be at hand if required at any time. The present is only symbolic, and generally takes the form of a goat, though in the case of a wealthy bridegroom it may be a cow or something equally substantial. This part of the procedure is known as *ku-onga*, and as soon as the present has been received by the bride's father, the marriage is valid in law. 584 [583]

A few days later, the groom sends a friend to conduct the girl to his house. She comes with several elder women and other girl friends, but her mother may not join the party. The bridegroom provides for them a feast of beer and meat in commensuration with his wealth. He presents beads to his wife, this ceremony being known as *ku-tentera*, and sends a cloth (known as *mcheku*) to her mother, after which the women return home on the same day without consummation having been effected. [574] [431]

About a week later, accompanied by a small boy, the man proceeds by night to his father-in-law's house, and is given an empty house, where he sleeps with his wife. He must avoid being seen by any of the villagers, and therefore departs before daylight, going to a neighbouring village for food and rest, and returning on the following night, when the same precautions must be observed. [833]

On the second morning he goes back to his village, and after two or three weeks sends a friend to fetch his wife. This time she comes openly, and sleeps with him for two or three nights in any available hut, after which she returns to her father. [833]

The husband then begins to build her house at his village, and to pay the bride-price. This process is known as *kulowola*, or *kupereka mabeku*. The *mabeku*, or bride-price, may consist of cows, or cash, or other goods; and it varies in value according to the standing of the parties. If the bride is fully grown, payment should be completed within four or five months. Nowadays, however, Ngoni girls are generally married shortly before they reach the age of puberty, and in such cases a year or two may be allowed; but when the husband is unnecessarily dilatory, his father-in-law may oblige him to build a house near his own and to live there until he has fulfilled his contract; and until the bride-price has been paid in full, he cannot expect his wife to reside with him permanently at his own village. 583 591 [582]

12. Customary Licences (Ngoni).

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Pre-marital intercourse was strictly forbidden, but it is now the general practice, though disapproved of by the elders. While rarely claimed, it is still possible for a father to obtain damages from a man who is proved to have had connexion with his young unmarried daughter; and the bride-price is reduced when it is known that a girl has been playing fast and loose as a regular habit.

13. Dissolution of Marriage (Ngoni).

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Connubial disputes are decided at the husband's village. A wife may not be divorced on account of barrenness; but in such a case her father gives the husband a younger sister without further *molohs*, or arranges with a friend or relation to give his daughter in return for a smaller bride-price.

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When a divorce has been granted, it is made effective by the husband's *sablowe* taking the wife home and handing her back to her father. If there are no children, the bride-price is returned, together with the *molohs*, *busenders* and other presents made before marriage. Presents made by husband to wife after marriage are considered to be the woman's own property, and she takes them with her. If there are several children, the husband keeps them, and his father-in-law retains the bride-price. If there is only one child, and the bride-price was large, the husband keeps the child and also receives back a portion of the bride-price, the guiding principle being a fair division. When the father is absent and is entitled to the children, his relations take charge of them. But even though the father may be given legal ownership, neither Angoni nor Achewa ever take small children away from their mother, with whom they must remain "until they are able to understand," the father being allowed meanwhile to visit them from time to time.

III.—DOMESTIC LIFE: FILIAL.

1. Infancy.

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Among the Achewa, twins were never killed. After being washed in medicine, they were taken with a present of a goat to the chief, who thereupon gave them their names. Until that was done, the chief could not visit their village. At night one twin sleeps on each side of the mother, who lies on her back. If one of them dies young, it is buried with a fruit of the "sausage tree" (*Figalia pinnata*), so that it may not be lonely. Formerly, twin girls married the same man at the same time, and twin brothers married their first wives at the same time.

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Guardianship of a child is always vested in the father until initiation, when it passes to the *swilweni*, and on his death to the mother's other brothers, and then to the mother's sons.

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Among the Angoni, the father is always guardian, with the modification that after marriage a girl must obey her husband before all others. When the father is dead, the father's brothers succeed according to age, then the father's sons in order, and then the sons of the father's brothers in their order.

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2. *Inheritance.*

When a Chewa woman dies, her personal property is inherited by her mother's eldest brother; but he must always give something to the deceased's eldest brother, and may then present a share, first to her other brothers and sisters, and then to his own brothers and sisters, if there is enough to go round. If the woman is married and leaves children, they may also share, if the inheritance is sufficiently large. A man's land and crops at his wife's village are always inherited by the widow; his personal property falls to his mother's eldest brother or, in default, to his own eldest brother; but the deceased's eldest son must always receive a share.

Among the Angoni, a man's land is inherited by his eldest son, or by his eldest surviving brother, if he has no son. His personal property goes first to his eldest son, or, if he has no son, to his eldest daughter. If he dies childless, his father inherits; if the father is dead, the deceased's eldest surviving brother; if he leaves no brothers, then the father's eldest living brother; and if all these are dead, their sons are taken in order. On the death of a woman, the husband takes the children; but her father takes all her personal property, including her share of the proceeds of the joint property of her husband and herself.

IV.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: POLITICAL AND LEGAL.

1. *Political Organization and Clans (Chewa).*

The tribal life of the Achewa and of the other descendants of the Amaravi has always been a disintegrated one. They have lived normally in small family communities, uniting under a common leader only when obliged by an emergency to do so. After the passing of the emergency, the leader has retained, nevertheless, a certain amount of influence, and has been regarded in some respects and in a small degree as a paramount chief.

Their tradition as to the origin of their chiefs is that long ago they had no instruments of war, hunting or agriculture. So they were at a disadvantage and an easy prey to their enemies, but at length God showed them ore, and they devised a smelting furnace (*ng'anjo*) (*vide infra* IX, 2.) By this means men began to acquire wealth and power, whereby they became chiefs; and *chuma*, the name given to the iron so made, is the word now used to signify any kind of wealth.

The Achewa are divided into various clans, or *visungu* (sing. *chisungu*). The common explanation now given is that these clan-names were devised in order that people might know their relations. Formerly, restrictions in the matter of diet were imposed upon adult members of a clan; but these restrictions are now generally ignored, and in many cases they have been forgotten. Marriage with a member of the same *chisungu* was strictly prohibited, but it is now of common occurrence.

The clan-names are the same as those of the Anyanja and Amang'anja. In some cases they correspond with those of the Wayao, who are a different tribe speaking a different language and, though the distinctions of the clan are falling daily deeper into disregard, an Mchewa will treat an Myao of the same clan as his *mbule*, or brother; and recently, when the Chewa chief,

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Mwase, died at Kasungu, the Yao chief, Makanjira, living on the lake shore made a journey of fifty miles to attend his funeral ceremonies because both were members of the *Phiri* clan.

Three Chewa *chiungo* predominate in the Dowa District. These are—

- (1) *Phiri*, meaning a hill, said to be derived from a big hill where this section of the tribe halted during its earlier migrations. It includes chiefs Kamtepa and Mphanda. Its members were forbidden to eat the animals normally found on hills, viz., baboon, klipspringer and hyrax.
- (2) *Banda*, including chiefs Kalazi and Nguruwe. Two derivations of the name are given, (a) from *banda*, a small hut, because when on trek they found a small hut by itself in the middle of uninhabited bush, and (b) from *ku-wanda*, to beat down the grass, because this clan always took the lead on the march. No tabu is observed.
- (3) *Mwale*, Ducole, who is the principal Chewa chief of the district. It is said that one day some Akwa-banda¹ killed a hartebeest, cut its head into strips and scattered them, and then called themselves Akwa-mwale, (from *kumwala*, to scatter). They were forbidden to eat the flesh of the hartebeest.

Other Chewa *chiungo* in the district are :

- (4) *Nkhosha*, a root eaten by baboons, which might not be eaten by members of the clan. It includes chiefs Buzare and Mamba.
- (5) *Chulu*, a termite heap. It includes chief Kalindang'oma. Its members were forbidden to eat termites.
- (6) *Mphadwe*. This clan includes Dowa and Kayembe Chimchila. The legend of the Akwa-mphadwe is that they were formerly Akwa-banda; but one day a man went into the bush with his sister, who climbed an *mphadwe* tree for fruit; her clothes fell off, whereupon the man was excited and had connexion with her, and to avoid the crime of incest said he was an *Mkwa-mphadwe*.
- (7) *Zimbu*, from *ku-zimbu*, to announce, because one day a messenger came and announced that he had found a large herd of game dead in the bush.
- (8) *Kwanda*, (9) *Linde*, (10) *Mhwe*, (11) *Saba*, (12) *Chibwe*, (13) *Zonzi*, (14) *Nyiranda*, (15) *Diaga*.

2. Political Organisation and Clans (Ngoni).

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As might be expected from their history during the last century, the Angoni retain greater regard for their chiefs than do the Achewa. They also are divided into clans or *nyalo* (sing. *nyalo*), the members of which were formerly bound by restrictions of exogamy and prohibited food; but these restrictions have long since ceased to carry any weight, and in most cases they and the origins of the clans have been forgotten.

The following is a list of the true Angoni and of the tribes whom they incorporated with themselves during their wanderings. The names of the principal chiefs are given in brackets following the names of the clans.

¹ The prefix Akwa- is used to denote the members of a *chiungo*.

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True Ngoni.

- (1) *Jee*, the clan of Songandawa, which includes also chiefs Mankamhwa, Masotunguji, Zamatya and Chitete. *Jee* means a bangle; but the name is said to be derived from the words of Songandawa when he crossed the Zambezi with all his prisoners, "Ningujee," or "We are many." Members of the clan did not eat or kill the domestic pigeon, because when surrounding a village they attached burning barkcloth to these birds which, when released, flew on to the houses and set them on fire.
- (2) *Gama* (Maliwa). (3) *Mgonerulu* (Chatambala). (4) *Nkhosi* (Njomole).

Of the Soto Tribe.

- (1) *Mugoi*. (2) *Mlipiso* (Mvuyani).

Of the Swazi Tribe.

- (1) *Ngonzo* (Mjwili). (2) *Gowu* (Chingwa). (3) *Mangwato* (Mtemuni). (4) *Mafalala* (Kofman). (5) *Gwano* (Zembeni).

Of the Thonga Tribe.

- (1) *Sombo* (Mankabaka). (2) *Makamu* (Kadnikale). (3) *Sungwani* (Ndwambi). (4) *Mpumulo* (Mapilani). (5) *Zungu* (Machila). (6) *Malingu* (Mtekotela).

Of the Kalanga Tribe.

- (1) *Hara* (Makanjira). (2) *Moyo*, meaning heart (Mundolilo). Members of these two clans might not eat the heart or liver, or drink the blood of any animal. (3) *Soko*, a monkey, (Chikukuni). They might not eat monkeys, or baboons, or any food plucked by them. (4) *Nous* (Chidzaye II). (5) *Shous* (Nakutopa). Tabu: the clan. (6) *Hondo* (Kaliichero). (7) *Mupala* (Simakuni).

Of the Senge Tribe.

- (1) *Mula*, meaning rain (Ndualawa). (2) *Khinda* (Zinombe). (3) *Lungu* (Chipenda). (4) *Mumba* (Pikani). (5) *Mwasa* (Chingwa). (6) *Sakala* (Chimongo). (7) *Mwondya* (Mgulo). (8) *Nyurusi*, meaning a bushpig, which was tabu, as was also any foodstuff uprooted by a bushpig. (Mukula II.) (9) *Ngonu* (Dinaumaleka). (10) *Shonvu* (Chidzaye). (11) *Mis* (Mumbo). (12) *Tondo* (Chikunumbu). (13) *Kunde* (Gwiri). (14) *Nyobu*, meaning an elephant, the meat of which was prohibited. To this clan belong Chiefs Chivere, Mfalimanja and Makarani. (15) *Mbwa* (Fumani II). (16) *Malelo* (Mbirintengwenji). (17) *Mhoneri* (Chimangumasa). (18) *Mhunjo* (Wata).

Of the Tumbuka Tribe.

- (1) *Nyalenda* (Gwireni). (2) *Chirwa*. (3) *Chungu*.

Of the Sanyu Tribe.

- (1) *Machetive* (Mponera). (2) *Sangu* (Manjake).

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Of the Mandwara Tribe.

- (1) Chimbulo (Chimbulanga).

Of the Sukuma Tribe.

- (1) Nthawa, meaning the frame put over an antheap. Tabu: termites (Kamkwamba, Yekoniya). (2) Chisi (Kampimbi, Funsani). (3) Mphope (Lichapa). (4) Chipata (Chinyanya). (5) Chiswa (Njumbula). (6) Ng'ombe (Manyusa). (7) Chika (Dumbo). (8) Lisinda (Kasinda). (9) Mlenje (Mgubo).

Of the Tonga Tribe. (A tribe allied to the Atumbuka living in the North of Nyasaland, not to be confused with the Aba-thonga south of the Zambezi).

- (1) Manda. (2) Nkhata.

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3. Secret Societies: the Vinyuu.

The word *vinyuu* (sing. *chinyuu*) signifies "representations of animals." It serves also as the name of a dance in which large figures of grass and wicker, masks and other disguises play the principal part. This dance has a wide range and has long been performed by the Achewa in connexion with funerals. Latterly it has been introduced into initiation ceremonies as well. It is not danced by the Ngoni or Tumbuka tribes to the north; but the Dowa Angoni, who have not preserved their own nationality, tribal forms and customs to any great extent, have adopted it generally for funerals and sometimes for initiations. The most prevalent explanation of its origin is that when God made the country and its people He also instituted the *vinyuu*. Consequently, the life of the people is bound up with it, and its secrets must be guarded zealously, initiates being warned that if they disclose them, not only will they themselves perish, but also their fathers and mothers and all their relations with them.

In 1907 Captain R. S. Rattray referred to this dance in his "Folk Lore Stories and Songs in Chinyanja," pp. 178 and 179, and expressed the opinion that it was undoubtedly in some way connected with totemism, the grass animals being reincarnations of the dead. He observed that the secrets were scrupulously kept, and that natives accustomed to speak freely on their other customs refused absolutely to discuss the *vinyuu*. During the last twenty years of contact with European civilization, its devotees have greatly increased in number; the dance itself has diverged to some extent from its original purpose and degenerated into a mere amusement; and the educated native of to-day does not believe so readily in the mysterious properties of a grass animal, and is therefore comparatively ready to impart his knowledge on the subject.¹

¹ Dr. Stanner makes a brief reference to the *vinyuu*, and in Harvard African Studies III, loc. cit., p. 232, he describes one of the corresponding Yao *unyuu* figures, viz., the *mbumbulu*, which is a "representation of an animal made of bark on a framework covered with mud and painted with flour in spiral markings, hence the name (*mbumbulu* is part of a spiral shell from the Zambezi coast much prized by natives as an ornament)." In the following pages he gives a list of the other *unyuu* figures, nearly all of which represent various animals, and states that they are used at the *lipanda* (initiation of boys) for instructional purposes, the Yao denying any totemic origin. The Yao word *unyuu* is, of course, the same as the Chewa *vinyuu*.

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The figures, or *viyau*, are divided into three classes, namely, (1) the *mitikwala*, or more important ones, being grass and wicker representations usually supported by several men; (2) the *viyau*, or lesser ones, consisting of masks or other disguises worn by single men; and (3) various others which do not belong to either of the foregoing classes. The following are the best-known examples of *viyau* and of the songs which accompany them.

Mitikwala.

With the exception of *chiwoko*, *njobvu*, *mdondo*, *injela* and *kasiya maliro*, the larger *mitikwala* representing animals only perform at night, but any of the smaller ones may perform in the day time. [535]

(1) *Kalulu* (the hare).—This is a small man, but he draws a big fee. He opens the first day of the *chinamwali*. [881]

Wathawita kalulu ayenera kukhala wochenjera kwambiri kalulu mkuru wa bwalo, bwandende, bwandende.

Chorus: *Kalulu mkuru wa bwalo.*

(*Kalulu* makes you run away, he is very cunning indeed, *kalulu*, the chief of the village.)

(2) *Chiwoko* has big ears like an elephant's; he begins the *maliro*¹ on the first day and the *chinamwali* on the second day. [764] [881]

Taonani matu² turubu msenjere.

Chorus: *Chiwoko, chiwoko.*

(Look at his ears sticking out of the grass.)

(3) *Mdondo*, a very large figure.

Nyama mdondo, ooo, nyama mdondo.

(*Mdondo*, the game animal.)

(4) *Kasiya maliro*, who dances alone at the close of a *maliro* (funeral). [764]

Kasiya maliro, muumwa kasiya.

Chorus: *Kasiya maliro.*

(Leave the funeral, leave the man.)

(5) *Njobvu*, the elephant.

(6) *Namwali walingu*, the girl does not heed (what her mother tells her).

(7) *Chilumpire bere*, an insect.

Chilumpire bere, wachiona, chilumpire bere.

(You have seen *chilumpire bere*.)

(8) *Tengere kutundu*, bring the load.

(9) *Ngoma*, the kudu antelope.

(*Akadya thonje ngoma, mukuri ali ndi usiku.*)

Chorus: *Ngoma'yo.*

(The kudu eats my cotton, my wife is shabby.)

¹ *Maliro*, funeral or mourning, from *ku-lira*, to cry.

² *Matu*, an abbreviation of *matikulu*, ears.

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- (10) *Kakoa*, the paddy bird, *ibis bubulcus*.
Kakoa timapiko tating'ono mbalame ya ku nyanja.
 (The paddy bird with its little wings, a bird of the river.)
- (11) *Mbonongo*, a large figure.
Mbonongo, mbonongo, uyone kuti nyama,
kubwalo kachepa, ku Tanya kwa Njerewende,
ku Mtula kwa Chimbwanda.
 (See what a beast it is, the village courtyard is too small for it, at the hills of Tanya and Mtula near the chiefs Njerewende and Chimbwanda.)¹
- (12) *Mpungu*, the vulture.
Oneta kumbuyu ku mimba ndakwona kale, mpungu.
 (Show your stern; I have already seen your belly)—i.e., looking upwards from underneath.
- (13) *Mpingu mphepo*, maker of a draught, i.e., by waving something.
- (14) *Kumutu nkuti*, with two tails, but no head.
Kumutu nkuti onani mchira'wo.
 (Where is its head? look at that tail.)
- [881] (15) *Chikupira* } These only appear on the second day of the *chinamwali*.
 (16) *Chambete* }
- (17) *Mpando wa Mwadzama*.
Mpando wa Mwadzama sinauone.
 Chorus: *e e sinauone eye*
 (I have not seen the chair of Mwadzama².)
- (18) *Zimbwa*, like a dog.
Zimbwa, zimbwa, nyama yosadya.
 (Zimbwa, not eating meat.)
- (19) *Kangachepe mwendere*.
Kangachepe mwendere kanguo
 Chorus: *Kanguo kamwana.*
 (Move the little cloth, it is small, a little child.)
- (20) *Chimwepa*, a bird.
Chimwepa anasiya mwana m'bunde.
 (Chimwepa has left its child in the bush.)
- (21) *Ng'ongwe*, the saddle-billed stork.
Ng'ongwe'yo, gaya gaya, ng'ongwe'yo.
- (22) *Waiyoni mbalame ya nyanja*.
 (Have you seen the bird of the river?)
- (23) *Nocula*, the pala antelope, who always finishes the *chinamwali* with *ngoleu*.

¹ These chiefs were noted for their interest in the *ringu*.² A Kota kota chief prominent in the *ringu*.

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(24) *Njati*, the buffalo.*Njati, oo, nyama, nyama tibusu.*

(The buffalo! game! the game grants!)

(25) *Njale*, a small pig.*Njale, njale, dala, njale, njale, njale.*575
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539*Vindzo.*

Any member of the *vingu* may dress himself up as a *chidzwa* by wearing a mask and maize cobs and smearing himself with flour. Some of these masks have been purchased in South Africa, and they are frequently adorned with real human hair. The *vindzo* only dance at night, and some times divest themselves of all clothing. Their songs are frequently topical, and are not set pieces, like those of the *mitlwa*. The following are some of the best-known *vindzo*, none of them being of greater importance than the others.

Songo is one of the most effective, but it may not appear in the *bulo*. It is made of a long *batahoo* with *ngunda*¹ fastened to it by string at intervals. The man carrying it has four *ngunda* on his head and one on each calf and biopsa; he sets fire to the *ngunda*, and runs about in the bush outside the *bulo*, where the people are watching the flames and singing.

Mbiza ndooka (broken pots) also dances once in the day time, and may or may not be called a *chidzwa*.

Others are: *ndotola*, *kang'winiwi*, *kachigonda*, *kambwanya*, *garuwamatumbelesi*, *namweli*, *tangulire ndoota moto ndakongwe* (open for me, girl, to warm me, I am cold), *tepa tepa tepa kumbi* (the undulating flight of the nightjar), *chingunda*, *tsotoku*, *mgwenderanji ochisumba*, *nguru*, *kumpango*, *chidzadza*, etc., etc.

The following *vingu* have no collective name, and are neither *mitlwa* nor *vindzo*. They wear hemp strings and feathers on their heads, and perform in daylight.

Kasiya binds two hemp string bands round his waist, two round his breast, three round his neck and two small ones round his brow; he chases the women about, and is very popular with them. *Chadzunda*, a very popular figure with a big wooden head and big ears with long feathers behind the head; he wears a shirt and loincloth, and walks with a stick like an old man; *kupoli* performs at *malivo*; *maliva*, at initiation of girls; *makanja*, a figure on stilts; *kukhwa*, *kudyankhwa* and *kuchipapa*.

Formerly, there were three principal *vingu* companies in Dowa District, at the villages of chiefs Dnole, Mawungwa and Mxanthama; but now practically every Chewa village of any size has its company. The leader in each village is called the *chirinda*, a word signifying the leader of a caravan, whose duty it was to protect the caravan at night with medicine.² The *chirinda* is chosen by the headman of the village, who usually nominates himself. He has two assistants, who have no special designation. Fees and fines are paid to the *chirinda* in the presence of witnesses so that he cannot appropriate them himself. He divides them at the

¹ Bark cloth made from the *musaka* (acacia) tree.² *Ku-vinda*, to protect with medicine.575
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575 *dambwe*¹, either in cash, or in food and beer, which is consumed there. Young boys are not given any of the money so received. The entrance fee of a young boy is not taken by the *chiwinda*, but by the boy's *mbumba* (maternal uncle), who divides it at the *dambwe*. When a new village is built, the headman and the six *anamungwi* (instructors at initiation, *q.v.*) take medicine called *achiri*, and bury it in the ground at night in the centre of the place destined for the *mbumba* (*vingus* dancing ground). No one else may be present, unless the headman and *anamungwi* are not members of the *vingus* themselves, in which case they hire members from a neighbouring village. This preparation by proxy is known as *kugula mriada*, or buying the *mbumba*.

575 592 The evening before the commencement of a dance, the dancers meet and arrange *kusaka* *mbumba* (to hunt wild beasts) on the following day. During the night they steal the maize cobs which they require for the figures, and take them to the *dambwe*. The younger members set to work before dawn, the others following later. Two or three work on each figure, while the younger ones help by bringing the required component parts, (which have the following special names:—

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Bwaga: grass or leaves.*Chikole*: stripped maize cob.*Namungwi*: knife or axe.*Nkhole* (lit. a pledge): barkstring.*Nkhiti* (lit. ribs): split bamboo.*Mfuto* (lit. paint): mud.*Mama* (lit. back): the space between bent *mbumba*.*Liundo*: stick.*Kumwata nyama* (lit. give the animal a drink): to plaster the bottom with mud.

These terms are always employed at the *dambwe*, and if any one makes use of the wrong word, he is fined a fowl. They are supposed to be secret, and if used before the uninitiated, the offending member is fined.

Nkomwera (lit. is it for drinking?) is a cryptic term used in the sense "Does he belong to us?" by one member to another in the presence of a third person when the speaker wishes to find out whether the person referred to is also an initiate.

Any number of *mbumba* may be made, usually from about four to ten, but often many more. Anyone who likes may make a *chiswiro* or other unclassified figure for himself; he details a boy to help him and to carry it to the *liundo*² in the evening. Formerly, if any stranger came near the scene of operations, or inadvertently upset a figure, he was put to death; but now an intruder is only fined, or he may be forced to become a member by going through the usual course. If any woman stumbles in, she is seized, and her husband is forced to pay a heavy fine. She may

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¹ The name of the place where the figures are made. It is always in long grass or thick bush near the bank of a stream. Women are afraid to use this word, and say *ku njira*, i.e., down the road.

² A place in the bush outside the village near the dancing theatre for which it serves as a dressing room.

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also be made a member of the society without any form of initiation, and three of these women are selected to help at the *dambue*. As a general practice, women are not admitted because they cannot be trusted to keep a secret. Those admitted by force of circumstances are few in number, and are therefore supposed to be afraid to disclose what they see at the *dambue*. When a member has left the *viyau*, he can be a spectator free of charge or on payment of a small fee; but if he wishes to be reinstated to full membership and to be allowed to go to the *dambue*, he is charged a double fee and must again go through a course of initiation, at which his trials are greatly increased. If a complete stranger arrives at a village when the *viyau* dance is in progress, he is tested by being required to give the names of the component parts used at the *dambue*, and his interrogators are usually satisfied when he has named five. He is generally charged a small fee, such as a penny, for the privilege of being a spectator at the *liunde*, and rather more if he wishes to go to the *liunde*, but he is rarely admitted to the *dambue*. He will usually receive hospitality, but not by virtue of his being a member of the *viyau* society, as free entertainment is nearly always accorded to strangers by the *Achowa*. Male strangers who cannot pass the test are not even permitted to be present as spectators at the *liunde*. No one is allowed to make fun of the *viyau*, either by speech or otherwise, as, for example, by drawing pictures of the figures in the sand. During the work of construction, no one is permitted to leave the *dambue* on any account. Food is brought from the village by women detailed by their husbands the night before, and is left outside the *dambue*, whence it is fetched by the workers and cooked by the women members mentioned above. The food is shared communally, and is eaten in small groups. [575] [562] [609] [574] [532] [264]

When the construction of the figures is finished, the men go home, leaving the boys behind to plaster mud on the lower parts of the *miukwala* to hide the feet of those inside, and on the tails and horns to make them dark. At sunset the figures are taken to the *liunde*, where the dancers assemble and sing for a short time, after which they go home for their evening meal, leaving the younger members on guard. When they return, they dance for a while, and allow the boys to go and eat. Then they go to the *miukwala* and dance to the drums with rattles on their ankles. Presently the *miukwala* come out from the *liunde* and dance around while the figures gyrate. This gyration is known as *ku-sugwa*. When they are tired, the *viyau* come out, and the *miukwala* return to the *liunde*, and so on alternately till about midnight, *miukwala* and *viyau* never performing together. Persons not initiated are allowed to look on by payment. Then they take the figures back to the *dambue*, and go home to sleep. It is the duty of the two junior permanent *anankungwi* to look after the *miukwala*, and they must sweep away all traces of the dance before daylight, otherwise they are fined. [575] [535]

Next morning the performers repair to the *dambue* as before, and make fresh *miukwala* and *viyau*, though the old ones may be used provided that they are altered sufficiently to create the impression that they are different; but on each succeeding night of the dance, a larger number of *viyau* must be shown than on the preceding one. On the last night of the dance, before retiring to rest, they must burn all the figures at the *liunde* and *dambue*, and scrape earth over the remains. Next morning they go to the *dambue*, and obliterate all traces completely. Then they take roots and fasten them to sticks which they plant in the ground outside the *dambue*.

so that anyone coming that way may see "medicine" and turn aside. After which, all bathe in the stream, and the ceremonies are over.

During a *vispas* dance six drums are always used, namely, the *mpenje* (five or six feet in length, and beaten at one end only); the *ndevwe* (another large drum three feet in length), or the *mbale*; the *mbandabundu* and the *mbwisa* (of medium size about two feet long); and two *hambundu* (small drums eighteen inches in length). These are beaten by men detailed by the headman or *chirindo*; but there are no special drums appertaining exclusively to particular *mbwisa* or songs. The big village drum always belongs to the headman; the others are privately owned, and are hired out for a small fee, such as an *nsenge* basket. Before use they are always warmed first at the fire.

4. Property.

Land was acquired by the Achewa by occupation and by the Angoni by conquest. It was divided by the paramount chief among his lieutenants, who in turn divided their sections among the heads of lesser groups or families. Each headman now allots land to his villagers; and if they move the village to a new site, everyone retains possession of the garden which he held before. The allottee is entitled to trees, anthraps, honey or anything else on his plot; and he may sell crops or other produce, but may not sell or lease the land itself. When reaping his crop, he presents a basket of maize to his headman.

In the home, the wife must provide the pots, and they are her personal property. The husband must supply her with baskets, hoes, etc.; but everything which pertains to woman's work belongs to the wife. The produce of a garden is the equal property of both. After a boy has passed through his initiation, he is given a small garden of his own. When, as in the case of the Achewa, he leaves the village to marry, the garden reverts to the chief, who is always spoken of as the owner of the land, since it is he who divides it out among his people.

The majority of the cattle owners are Angoni. Possession is individual; but all the animals in one village are kept in one open kraal belonging to the village headman, who selects small boys to look after them. Herdsmen were formerly unpaid; but now, when a beast is sold, killed or otherwise removed, they receive a present from the owner, as also does the headman. There is no fixed fee; but the owner of a dozen head may give the headman a calf every other year, while the owner of one or two only gives him a goat. If a man living in a village where there is no kraal buys cattle, he frequently places them in the care of a friend at a neighbouring village where there is a kraal, instead of handing them over to his own headman. The friend makes his own arrangement with the headman; but the friend is liable to the owner, and the usual payment is made to the friend, who divides it with the headman.

If a beast dies in the kraal, there is no liability, provided that the headman (or responsible friend) informs the owner, so that the latter can make use of the meat. Should the headman or friend fail to do this, he must pay the owner a live animal of the same age and sex. Where loss occurs through the carelessness of a herdsman, a case for damages lies against him. Sometimes cows calve in the kraal, but generally they wander off into the bush for the purpose; if they are then lost, or killed by carnivora, there is no liability. If a cow sold as sound dies

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within about four months of purchase, the money is refunded, unless it is shown that the owner is to blame. In the case of a sheep or goat, this period is reduced to about six weeks. 233 [672]

It is not the custom to hire out cattle, either for ploughing, or for milk. If a cow brings forth twin calves together, she and her offspring are presented to the headman, as the cow is supposed to be an exceptionally good one; and the headman in return hands over three other animals of similar ages. 427 [431]

V.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: MILITARY.

1. *Preparations for War.*

The Ngoni expeditions against the Achewa consisted principally of raids at times when the crops were ripening and they were short of food. At such times the young warriors who thirsted for war signified their desire by dancing outside the house of the chief. After they had danced for three evenings, the chief fixed a day, food was prepared, and warriors were summoned from the neighbouring villages. The *sing'anga* made medicine to protect them against the weapons of their enemies, and as the army filed past him, he dipped a hammer into the medicine; and struck each man on the chest with it. The best-known *sing'anga* under Chief Chiwere was Chimongo, and his name is still held in veneration. 721 726 756

2. *Methods.*

The Ngoni usually came upon their foe unawares, and attacked with a rush. If they met with a stout resistance from a stockaded village, they surrounded it and camped till lack of water forced the besieged to sally forth. Quarter was rarely given to the men. 726

3. *Subsequent Proceedings.*

On their return, all who had killed a man repaired immediately to the *sing'anga* who mixed medicine with goats' milk. The warriors dipped their fingers in the mixture and put them into their mouths. Then they dipped again into the mixture, and rubbed it on their arms and legs, after which they stood up and shouted "O-o-o!" This form of purification was undergone in order to drive away the *chisanda* or affliction which they would otherwise suffer from the spirits of their dead enemies, and until they were cleansed they might not have any connexion with women. Next day, they burned goats' bones, pounded them and mixed them in water, anointing the mixture first on cheeks and throat and then over the remainder of their persons. After this they proceeded to their homes and, having decorated themselves, displayed their reasonable pride by jumping about before the chief, who sent for a bull to be cooked and eaten. Prisoners were paraded, and when a man had taken three or more, one of them was always returned to him by the chief. 727 [783] [755]

VI.—SOCIAL ORGANIZATION: ECCLESIASTICAL AND PROFESSIONAL.

1. Rainmaking (Chewa).

789 The most famous rainmaker still practicing is Matakamula, who resides in Mponera's
791 country near Nehid. When the chief wants rain, he sends messengers to him with a black
cloth. Matakamula takes the cloth, and goes into his hut and prays, till at length a snake,¹
either an *nantu* (python) or an *ndule* glides into the hut. The *ndule*, a thin, buff-coloured snake
about three feet long, is rarely seen, and makes a noise "huvv—" at night. Both these snakes
[825] are known to be spirits. They are harmless, and live in the vicinity of the village, the people
being afraid to kill them, lest they or their relations die. The snake sleeps for two nights with
Matakamula, and during this period no male may enter the house. Meanwhile, the messengers
have departed; and after two or three weeks of rain, when fully satisfied that Matakamula
has completed his task, the chief sends him a white cloth in recognition of his services.

The only other well-known rainmaker is Tsang'oma, of the Phiri clan, living near Dralany-
ama. When required, he calls the people together to pray for rain. Neither of these two men
[291] ever kills a black goat, since, if he did so, the rain clouds being black would not come to him
when invoked.

Another renowned rainmaker, now dead, was Chauwa, of the Banda clan, living at
Chironje, near Mkhoma. When the Arhewa fire the grass early in the dry season, it is their
custom to leave unburnt near each village a patch of bush which is known as a *chiru*. This
patch is burnt separately at the end of the dry season, after it has been surrounded by hunters
who lie in wait for the game which has taken cover therein. Great care was always taken
to protect Chauwa's *chiru* from fire until rain was required; and it was said that anyone who
set it alight, even though accidentally, would immediately die.

When, however, the chief considered that rain was needed, he sent word to Chauwa, who
despatched messengers bearing a maize cob with red grains to each headman in the district,
ordering him to assemble his people at the *chiru* on the following day. This kind of cob was
[824] called *chimsaga chosantwa*, and its red grains were held to be a symbol of the blood of the
game about to be killed. So every person living near—man, woman or child—came next day
to the *chiru*, each carrying a white grain of maize, and these grains were ground all together
at Chauwa's village. Chauwa's deputy then took the resultant flour and a black goat to a large
pond, over which a tree was growing almost horizontally. Having walked along the tree, he
cut the throat of the goat, pouring its blood upon the water and flour upon the blood, thereby
causing it to swirl round and round instead of dispersing. Meanwhile, the deputy prayed to
God, in words which he had learnt from Chauwa, that rain might be sent as soon as the *chiru*
had been burnt. By the non-dispersal of the blood the crowd of people present knew that the
prayer had been heard, and on its conclusion they all said, "Fyva," and returned to their
homes.

¹ Dr. Blunson, on p. 207 of vol. 21 of the *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1890, refers to a Yao rainmaker who
[171] confided with two spirits said to be a male and female snake.

² Meaning, I am sorry to have troubled you, or, I beg your pardon.

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Next day the hunters assemble at the chive with their bows and arrows, spears and dogs; and the women commenced to sow in anticipation of the rain which they knew would fall. Chauwa himself again remained at home, and his deputy alone was allowed to burn the grass after it had been surrounded by every available man and boy in the neighbourhood so that nothing might escape. Such was the reputation of Chauwa that it is said that rain always fell before sunset on the same day.

Then the women cooked the goat at the house of Chauwa, who could not himself partake, as he was the director of the sacrifice; and all the other members of his *chisungu* abstained with him. The liver was cooked in a separate pot after it had been tied up with a piece of *saisiriri* tree in red cloth and goat cat skin. It was then covered over, and any other person was allowed to kill a goat and cook its liver in the same pot. Next morning any of their children who had not yet reached the age of initiation were allowed to eat such part of the livers as had not been consumed by the spirits. The meat of the game killed was divided in accordance with the usual rules of hunting.

2. *Ruimankia (Ngoni).*

Songandawa's slave wife, Mwachuma, who was brought by Chief Chiwere to the Dowa District, remained there as the mother of all the people and was always referred to as Gogo (grandmother). All the principal spirits of the Angoni were to be found at her village. When rain was desired, Chiwere assembled his Angoni there, and killed four or five black cows, which were cooked and eaten outside the kraal. Then he prayed to the spirits of Songandawa and Gwaza, and poured water into an *apwanda* (wooden bowl), which was covered with another bowl after some of the water had been poured out into a gourd. This praying was known as *upwaka*. As the chief prayed, he held the gourd in his hand; and as he invoked each spirit in turn, he poured a little water on the ground. After the last spirit had been invoked, he rinsed his mouth, spat the water out, and emptied the gourd upon the ground. Then the people went home, and rain fell.

VII.—TRIAL LIFE: FUNERAL RITES.

1. *Preparation of the Body (Chewa).*

When a man dies, the men (usually relations) watching beside him in the hut close his eyes, straighten his fingers and all his limbs, shave his head, wash and oil him, and wrap him in cloths. These cloths must always be new, and though coloured ones may be used, the outside one must always be white. However poor the relations may be, they invariably manage somehow or other to procure a new white cloth. The death is announced at once with the formula "*asasiririka*" (he is finished).

2. *Disposal of the Corpse (Chewa).*

On hearing the news, the men of the village beat drums in the *beulo* until the following morning, while men and women wail together, uttering cries of mourning, and occasionally breaking forth into expressions such as, "So and so is dead, I am alone in the world"; "God has done evil to me"; "Whom shall I live with now!" "God should have killed me too";

764 "So and so (mentioning someone absent from home) has left me alone." The chorus is varied periodically by a solo from the *mwini maliro* (master of the ceremonies, lit. owner of the funeral), who is generally the eldest brother of the deceased.

At dawn next day, the women take the drums, while the men of the village accompanied by friends from elsewhere go and dig the grave. Chewa graves are made all together in a graveyard in thick bush near the village. The grave may point in any direction; it is usually eight or ten feet deep, and is spoken of as *masisi* (lit. a village). The corpse is interred on its back pointing either way, the limbs stretched out straight. If it begins to putrefy early, they say that the hair of the animal into which the deceased is turning (*vide infra* VIII, 1) is beginning to appear, and they cry out, "So and so has become a leopard." At noon the men return to the village, wrap the corpse in mats, and carry it to the grave fastened with barkstring to a pole. Four men chosen by the *mwini maliro*, two of whom are relations of the deceased and two relations of his wife, descend into the grave, receive the corpse as it is lowered by the ropes, and place four small baskets of maize flour at the head, feet and each side. All the dead man's bows, knives, bows and arrows, empty beer pots and food pots are also laid beside him, together with the barkstring and pole. The grave is then covered up and flat stones put on top, after which all who were present at the interment go off and bathe, the men upstream above the women. The hoes used in digging are taken to the house of the deceased, the iron blades being heated in the fire and left there till their owners go home, in order to ward off the *chiswada*, or madness which would otherwise be inflicted upon them by the spirit of the deceased. People not intimately connected with the dead man may now depart; but the friends and relations return in the evening and sleep, the men outside and the women inside the hut. The *mwini maliro* is told [575] that the *viapwa* will dance, and materials are collected and taken to the *dandwa*.

3. Funeral rite (Chewa).

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575 Next morning, the dancers prepare the figures as usual, and after leaving them at the *liande* in the evening, eat their food either at home or at the house of the deceased, where the women have prepared a meal. At no time need any *viapwa* member perform unless he wishes and on this particular occasion few turn out, as there is no beer and little in the way of presents. Generally, there are only two or three *milikanda*, owing to the short notice, and these may dance in any order or place. The *viandis* take pots from the graveyard, and dance into the *liande*, holding them above their heads and singing, "*Mbiye ndakanda*" (broken pots). The *mwini maliro* and other near relations remain in their houses and mourn, but the *milikanda* come round to their doors and receive *masupa*. Even when there is real grief, the relations like the noise and merriment in much the same way that the English lower orders are reputed to take a pride in providing "a lovely funeral." When the dancing is over, the relations sleep again at the house of the deceased.

766 On the following day, i.e., the third after death, the *viapwa* again perform; but on neither of these days is the dancing kept up late. *Kelala* and *njobu* never appear at a *malise*, except in the case of a headman, *namungwi*, *chicwinda* or other important person. In such

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cases, *Isalele* may begin to dance on the day of interment, and *Isipankhisi* dances near the grave, while *Isung'wini* dashes out into the village with a stick, kills two or three fowls, runs with them to the *dambos*, roasts them there, and takes them to the people who are digging the grave. In the early morning of the third day, the women sweep the hut and burn the rubbish outside; men and women then bathe as before, and most of the friends depart; but the near relations, male and female, shave their heads and sleep at the hut. M
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On the fourth morning the *dambos* are swept up, and the performers bathe, the figures having been destroyed overnight. The near relations must still remain and sleep at the hut. During this period, all who sleep at the hut must abstain from sexual intercourse; should anyone have intercourse, he must cease to sleep at the hut, or he will sulk the other (*vide* II, 1). On the fifth day all go away, and the widow sleeps alone in the house. During the next week or two, and sometimes even longer, she must not talk except when absolutely necessary, nor may she wash any part of her person except her mouth. [833]

After the death of a headman or other important personage,¹ it is necessary to recall the spirit which has departed to the base of a tree in the bush; and beer is (therefore made by the widow when a month or so has elapsed. On the *tsiku* *tsikumbula* (*vide* *infra* IX, 1) all those who have assisted at the interment gather outside the house and drink. Later, in the evening, two of the deceased's elderly male relations go into the bush with two *nsangus* baskets, into one of which they put a *chikabwi* (species of caterpillar), afterwards placing the baskets in the house at the head of the bed. The caterpillars are eaten in due course by the ubiquitous small *tygers* ant; but the spirit remains, and the widow presents periodical offerings of beer and porridge, invoking him by his clan name (*tsungu chisungu chake*), e.g. "Yo Randa! Yo Randa!" Anything left by the spirit is given to the children next morning. The Angoni keep the spirit by making a small fence round the *nsangus*, but the Achewa consider this unnecessary. On the *tsiku* *tsikumbula* all bathe together in the stream and drink beer at the house. Next day the first offering to the spirit is made by the widow, and the relations may disperse. M
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4. Memorial Rites (*Choswe*).

After an interval of two or three months, when they have had time to collect food, money and other presents, a *ringwe* dance is held by way of memorial. If two men die in the same village at the same time, the funeral rites described above may be held for the two jointly; but each must have his own memorial separately. The dance is arranged by the *marini* *malimo* and lasts three days. The relations are now permitted to look on. There is no beer; and generally not more than four or five *mbumba* perform each day. On the first evening *ajidwa* always begins, but he receives no *nsangus*, though the *mbumba* and *siando* receive the usual presents. *Kasigis* performs about midnight, and dancing continues till cockcrow. On the second night *Isangis* always begins, and dancing is generally over by midnight. On the third night there is no particular order of precedence, and the figures are usually taken to the *dambos*. M
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¹ Cf. *Stamman, Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xl, 1910, p. 300, on the Anyanja: "The spirits of the departed retain their former stations, thus the name of a chief is a thing of greater account than that of an ordinary man. It is thought to continue to hold a directing influence on the well-being of the tribe."

765 and burnt before midnight. Next morning the performers tidy up and bathe, and go about their
575 affairs.

On this occasion, or else at the final *kumets maliro* (vide *infra*), the following performance takes place. At the *liunde* a man is decked out as a corpse, shaved and oiled. Then he is bound in a shroud with his big toes tied together, wrapped in leaves of the *mutubi tuboi*,¹ and rolled in a mat with two *navaga* baskets under his head. Four *akasijs* bear him to the *bululo*, where they unwrap him and then run away. *Kapoli* stands over him with a torch; he holds his breath; and the women come and look at him and sing and call to the *viandzo*. When they are still singing the *akasijs* return and take him away. This number is taken quite seriously by everybody, especially by the "corpse," who has a bad headache next day from the smell of the leaves.

[532] When it is a child who is being mourned, a few days previously a life-sized figure is cut out of *mbumbwe*² wood by a skilled man in the bush. This effigy is taken to the *dambus*, where it is coated in black mud and left in the sun till the mud is hardened. Then the head is covered with gum, and real hair is stuck on; the body is oiled and wrapped in cloths; and the figure is taken to the *bululo* by a single *kasijs*, who sings, "*Maliro a munu wankhanda simunawone*" (You have not seen the funeral of an infant child). The women then come and examine the corpse, as above.

[221] The final ceremony, that of *kumets maliro*,³ takes place in the slack season following the
[223] harvest at a time fixed by the headman, when all the deaths of the past year are joined in a general celebration. Beer is brewed, and preparations are made for large numbers of *mikhwala*. Everyone joins in, and performers and spectators come from neighbouring villages, especially if anyone of the deceased has been a person of importance. Beer is made by the widow at the dead man's house and by other women at their own houses. All the relations sleep at the house of the deceased, and on the morning of the *tsiku lefulula* the males make a fence (*chikhute*) round that part of the verandah where the beer is. On the following day (*tsiku lakubwera*) they collect materials for the *viyau*. On the *tsiku lakupola*, when they are making the *viyau*, the *mwini maliro* takes a few fowls and a basket of flour to the *dambus* for the entertainment of the workers. In the evening they move from the *liunde* to the *mwinda* as usual. *Mjinda* is always the first *mikhwala*, but there is no rule as to the order of the others. All of them receive generous *masupe* from the *mwini maliro*.

Next day (*tsiku lekumbula*) food and beer are taken to the workers at noon. *Mdondo* and *chisodo* are always made on this day, and are paraded before sunset—*chiroko* leading, then *mdondo*, and then *malumja* on stilts—in front of the women, who present beer to *mdondo*. The figures are then taken back to the *liunde*. When the dancing begins about seven o'clock as usual, *chisodo* leads and the others follow in any order. The performance only lasts for two or three hours, and on its termination the *mikhwala* are all burnt with the exception of *mdondo* and *kasijs maliro*.

¹ These leaves exude a vile odour, like that of a rotten body. *Mutubi* means excitement.

² *Mumbwe*, a tree with rough bark sometimes used for making drums and grain mortars.

³ *Ku-mets*, to shave.

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The final day of the proceedings, *tsiku* is human, is known as *tsiku* la *human* maliro. The beer is tasted at cockcrow, and *tsiku* maliro begins to dance, followed first by a *chisimba* and then by *malanda*. At sunrise the dancers proceed to the *dambue*, and those who play no further active part may go and bathe, after which they repair to the *tsikanda*, where they rest and drink till noon. Meanwhile, the relations, accompanied by any other of the men who assisted in digging the grave or were present at the interment, have betaken themselves early to the banks of the stream where they bathed on the former occasion. The women who have worn *sinkhanda* burn them in a fire, and scatter the ashes. If they have indulged in sexual intercourse while wearing them, the *sinkhanda* refuse to burn. Both sexes bathe separately as before, and all return to the house of the deceased, outside which the men shave each others' heads, as also do the women. About noon one or more *amatsigwa* come from the *tsikanda* and dance in the *tsikanda*. *Chisimba* hobbles out, paces round the graveyard, and goes first to the house of the deceased to receive a *supa* from the widow and then to the house of the headman, where he sits on a chair while people come and give him *masupwa* and beer. After this refreshment he dances in the *tsikanda*, and then retreats to the *tsikanda* for a rest, returning to dance a second and third time before retiring finally to the *dambue*. Then *tsiku* maliro dances for the last time, and is taken to the *dambue* and burnt, and those who have handled him bathe. *Vindzo* again bring broken pots from the graveyard, and dance with them in the bush, singing "*Mbisa zedoko*," and the *amatsigwa* continue dancing for a while. At sunset the ceremonies are ended by the male relations of the deceased burning first the beer fence and then the house. The widow sleeps in someone else's house for a few weeks, until a new house has been built for her by her relations.

5. Funeral rites (Ngoni).

The procedure described by Captain Rattray² in 1907 is still remembered by the old men; but the younger Ngoni are inclined to follow the customs of the Achewa with certain modifications. For example, they place the corpse in a recess cut out from the bottom of the wall of the grave in order that it may not be soiled when the grave is filled in. They do not leave him any food, but place his spear and shield and one or two of his knives in the recess by his side. Part of his remaining property is deposited in the main shaft; but the sons always inherit the knives, except the *chigumbu* (knife for cutting meat), which falls to the head wife.

On the second day after the death, the widows send children to cut *mpulupufu* grass, from which they weave *sinkhanda* to bind on their heads. As long as the widows wear these *sinkhanda*, they must abstain from sexual intercourse; if they fall from grace, they invariably remove the *sinkhanda* first. They must also keep their hands behind their backs when walking abroad, and may only use one hand when gesticulating. They must refrain from conversation and abstinence for two or three weeks, at the end of which they brew beer (known as *mon* or *simbila*) and invite a few friends to partake of it. Very often a widow's near female relations past the time of childbearing wear *sinkhanda* and observe prohibitions in sympathy with her.

¹ Mourning bands of plaited grass (see following section).² "Some Folk-Lore Songs and Stories in Chinyanja," pp. 50-59.

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On the second day, also, the *murisi* male takes cows or a goat according to his means, and divides the flesh among the mourners. The bones may not be gnawed, as this would be considered equivalent to eating the dead man, but they are put into an *ngwembe* basket and thrown away into the bush at the end of the feast.

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On the third and fourth days the male relations surround the grave with a fence of *tachwa* grass known as *chilisa*, which is sometimes plastered by the women with mud. The Achewa are now beginning to imitate this custom, and also that of wearing *sinkhanda*. Both tribes plant *nkhalisi*¹ trees about the graves in order that the dead may have shade.

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A chief is not buried in the common graveyard, but in the village just outside his hut, and a chair is sometimes placed inside the *chilisa*. One of his senior relations kills a goat, and the new prospective chief ties a root along the handle and blade of a knife, with which he cuts a horizontal strip of skin round the quarters of a goat, and wears the strip for two or three months as a belt, the tail hanging down behind. With the same knife the widows cut off the false hoofs together with a small piece of adjacent skin, through which they thread a string, and then bind a false hoof on each wrist and wear them till the end of the period of mourning. The root must remain fastened to the knife throughout this period, at the end of which all are burnt together.

VIII.—MENTAL CHARACTERS.

1. Reincarnation and Spirits (*Chewa*).

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Murisi or spirits are invoked as intermediaries between man and God (*Chauta*), and each village contains a hut for the spirits of past chiefs, to whom prayers are generally made because they are powerful and because they are known to everybody. Some of the larger villages have two huts, one for the spirits of men and the other for the spirits of women. A man may also make offerings to the spirits of his own family in his own hut. When the green maize is ready for eating, the people may not taste it until their headman has taken a cob, cooked it in his house and placed it in the spirits' house, where he claps his hands and thanks the spirits for the crop. The cob, like other offerings to spirits, may be eaten next morning by children below the age of initiation.

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If, as frequently happens, a traveller strays—as we should say, absentmindedly—when following a route which he knows quite well, it is the work of a spirit which has been annoyed by him. On one such occasion a police constable of mine, who had been sent to the neighbouring station while his child was ill, found himself wandering several times from the main road, and knew thereby that his child was dead, and that its spirit was troubling him because he should

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¹ *Nkhoszi*, euphorbia. These are evergreen, quickly propagated and long lived, and so they serve also as a sign to mark the grave long afterwards. In the Mlanje District the Anyanja and other tribes sometimes plant them in maize fields because they are supposed to be obnoxious to termites.

Livingstone, *loc. cit.*, p. 105, writes that in the Shire Highlands in 1859 they found all Mang'anja villages surrounded by an impenetrable hedge of poisonous euphorbia. He continues: "This tree casts a deep shade, which would render it difficult to bowmen to take aim at the villagers inside. The grass does not grow beneath it, and this may be the reason why it is so universally used, for when dry the grass would convey fire to huts inside; moreover, the hedge acts as a fender to all flying sparks."

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not have left it. On his return two days later, he attended the funeral and propitiated the spirit so that it should not trouble him again. 775

The Achewa believe that after death they undergo reincarnation. I am not aware of any rules regulating the kind of form to be adopted; but many people acquire medicine from a doctor enabling them to assume the form they wish, and more especially to avoid those of inferior species such as ants, flies, etc. Lightning, lions and leopards are among those most desired, and all lepers are supposed to become hippopotami. Women believe in spirits more strongly than do men, and they will sometimes refrain from eating guinea-fowl because they say it is a man who has neglected to take medicine. [825] [184] [262]

A certain doctor named Kalizamimba, living near Malungundi, was said to have the power to send lions to kill an enemy. If, for example, one Uje wishes to slay his man in this way, he goes to the doctor who takes two *mipinjiri* (slips of wood) and bores them with an arrow head, in order to ward off the effect of all weapons. Then the two men betake themselves together to a fork in the road, where the doctor buries a pot and waves a basket over it. Slowly, and by degrees, a lion comes out of the pot. The doctor orders it to go and kill the person whose death is encompassed, and Uje returns to his village. No one can kill the lion, so everybody knows that an enemy has sent it. Having performed its appointed task, the lion returns by night and roars outside Uje's village, whereupon Uje goes out with his porridge stick and a fowl, gives the lion the fowl and knocks it down with the stick. It vanishes forthwith, and Uje picks up one of the *mipinjiri* in its place. If the lion's mate should then appear, Uje knocks her down also and picks up the other *mipinjiri* in her place. Then he puts the *mipinjiri* in the ground over the pot, cuts the throat of the fowl, and calls upon the lion to devour the blood and to stay there till he has returned to his hut. It is believed, also, that men can become lions by eating *mipinjiri* given to them by a doctor. In such cases, after the death of the victim has been accomplished, the lion returns to the place whence he started and thereupon finds himself a man again. 754 825 [789]

Four kinds of snake are said to be spirits because they do not bite and are rarely seen. They are *chilelo*, *thunga*, *nantu* (python) and *ndala* (*vide supra* VI, 1). If a man meets any one of these on his way to fight or hunt, he must return forthwith and offer a sacrifice before setting out afresh on his enterprise. If one of them enters a house, the inmates cast lots to discover whose spirit it is and then offer sacrifice accordingly. They are never killed, and numerous stories have been weaved around them. 825 775 [782]

When a lion or leopard is killed, the skin and heart are taken to the chief, who eats the heart after mixing it with medicine and makes a present in return to the successful hunter. Ceremonial washing to avert the consequent *chicwanda* (madness caused by the spirit of the slain, *vide supra* V, 3) is required only in the case of a lion or a hyena. It is believed that when a snake has killed or bitten a person or animal, it invariably enters water to purify itself for the same reason. 224 825 [262] [783]

2. Miscellaneous (Chewa).

The chiefs of the Achewa had few marks of distinction; but they alone were allowed to wear cloth with an *mpenje* (fringe), or the feathers of the *nkurukuru* (*turneo livingstonianus*), 622

622 the *mantaburi* (paradise flycatcher, *Myiophobus perspicillatus*) and the *mbute* (a coucal, *Cypselurus*
 241 *supercilliosus*); and no commoners were allowed to sit on stools in their presence.

From the commencement of harvest until after the complete crop had been stowed in the *mbute* (grain stores), the Achewa used to refrain from sexual intercourse, from the use of a razor and from washing any part of the person except the face.

824 Parnatic plants and part of the taller of two trees growing together are supposed to make
 278 particularly good medicine, for in both cases they have proved themselves to be the stronger of two.

15'1 The habit of cracking the fingers by pulling them out, (known as *henge* (from *ku-henge*, to curl up), is very common among the Achewa. It is resorted to in order to gain strength, whether after an illness, or on awaking to dispel laziness, or when tired, as for example, during the hearing of a case in court when bored or sleepy.

777 When travelling along a road one frequently notices stones which have been placed in low
 484 forks of trees near the side of the path by voyagers who hope thereby to ensure a safe journey and to arrest the downward path of the sun, so that they may reach their destination before nightfall.

IX.—ECONOMICS.

1. Beermaking (*Chewa*).

273 The methods of brewing vary slightly, but the following is the most common. The grains of maize are first soaked in water for three days. On the fourth day they are strained and put into a pot which has been left in the sun the whole of the previous day. The pot is then covered over with leaves and left in the house for another three days, at the end of which the grains are sprouting and are now known as *chimera* (from *ku-mera*, to sprout). The *chimera* is taken out of the pot and spread on a mat. After it has been left there a couple of days it is pounded. This, the first, pounding is called *ku-fanala*. The husks are then removed, and the *chimera* is boiled and taken off the fire (*ku-punda*, to take off the fire). Next, *phala* (light maize porridge or gruel) is boiled and left for two days.

The next day is the first day of the beermaking proper, and it is known as *tsiku isifala*.¹ On this day the *phala* is strained² and pounded for five or six hours. The *chimera* is pounded separately, and water is boiled in a large pot. Flour is mixed with the *phala* and well stirred. In the evening the *chimera* is added, and the mixture—which is still called *phala*—is left overnight.

The next day, i.e. the second day of the beer-making proper, is called *tsiku inshuwana*.³ In the morning the *phala* is boiled in the big pot until noon, and it is then left standing. It is now called *mbuu*.

¹ *Tsiku*, day. *Ku-fanala*, to stay in one place.

² The technical word for this straining is *ku-funda* (lit. to hunt) because the straining is effected by knocking the rim of the strainer.

³ *Ku-shuwana*, to do a thing over again.

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The third day is known as *tsiku lalupela*.¹ In the morning more chimera is pounded and added to the *mlusu*, which is boiled again to make it frothy. The process is repeated in the afternoon, and the *mlusu* is left for the night.

The fourth day is called *tsiku lalumbela*, the day of mixing. Early in the morning more chimera is pounded and cooked separately. When the *mlusu* is boiling well, the chimera is poured into the big pot. Then a girl cooks *nsima ya lipela* (bean porridge) while her mother strains the beer. Later in the afternoon they pour the beer from the big pots into the smaller pots, which are then put on one side. As soon as it is cool enough they taste it, and when it is quite cool they taste again.

The fifth day is *tsiku lalumuswa mos*, the day of drinking the beer. At early dawn it is tasted again, and after the *nsima ya lipela* has been added it is well stirred. It is now quite strong and is called *mos*, the ordinary name for beer.

On the sixth day it is still called *mos* and is good for drinking. On the seventh day it is known as *mwinda* and it is not so palatable; and on the eighth day—in the *mbwinda*² stage—it begins to go bad. It is usually consumed by the end of the sixth day; but the woman who has made it always pours a little into a small pot, which she hides away and preserves for the benefit of her husband and herself.

2. Iron Smelting (Chwao).

When a man wishes to make a furnace he first consults a doctor (*sing'anga*). The *sing'anga* puts medicine in a stripped maize cob, and instructs a small boy to throw it at a pregnant woman. This causes her to have a miscarriage the same evening. The abortion is buried in a refuse heap in the usual manner³; but the doctor digs it up at night, mixes it with medicine known as *mbungu* (lit. a thief), and burns it in a hole in the ground. The furnace is then made by working the clay into a wall rising above this hole; more *mbungu* is poured on to it, and a fowl is killed and also thrown on to it. If the fowl falls so that its head points to the north, the furnace is no good, and another one must be made the following month in a different place. The fowl is then plucked, roasted whole without being gutted, and eaten with their *nsima* (maize porridge) by the people who have made the furnace. Strict continence must be observed by all the workers during the process of smelting. When the hoes have been made, some are given as compensation to the woman who had the miscarriage, but she is not supposed to know the reason for the gift.

3. Implements of War.

The Angoni carried shields or *visyungu*, made of oxhide. Down the centre of each *chisyungu* runs a bamboo stick, to the top of which is fastened a *mwila* or binding made from the fur of the genet cat (*mariri*). The stick is kept in place by cross-pieces of hide known as *matoto*. Each side of the shield outside the *matoto* is called the *agwupa*. Their favourite weapon was

¹ *Ku-pela*, to get better.² *Ku-bwinda*, to be rotten.³ Cf. H. S. Stammers, *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.*, 1910, vol. xl, p. 311.

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Their favorite weapon
the *agulu* or throwing spear, the shaft of which was made of *moako* or *moopani* or other hard wood. The head is bound to the shaft with copper wire; part of an ox tail serves as a grip; and at the top is a plume of goat's hair known as the *akovu*. Battle axes were also used. Round his waist the warrior wore a *misigo*, or kilt composed of strips of skin of leopard, wild cat, monkey, baboon or sheep—some of them straight, and others plaited and twisted. In lieu of a *misigo*, a sporran or *chikovu* *aka* *ku* *muto* might be worn in front with a similar covering styled *chikovu* *aka* *ku* *akovu* behind. These were generally made of serval or other wild cat skins. *Njiviri* or garters, consisting of strips of goat skin threaded with iron bells also known as *man's* *attika*.

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The Achewa also carried battle-axes, but they relied mainly on the bow (*ulu*) and arrow (*nyalivo*). The favourite wood for the bow was *madzwa*, and the bowstring or *senge* was made from the skin of Sharpe's steinbock or another small antelope. The barbed head (*noletu*) of the arrow is bound to the *hane* (shaft of *longo* reed) by *kwari* string cemented with the sap of the wild fig tree. The fork at the butt end is known as *siwa*, and is protected by a binding of *kwari* string called *kwari*, which is also the name for the hair of an elephant's tail. Chiefs displayed a battle headdress styled *nyoni*, consisting of the feathers of the turaco, coucal (vide *supra* VIII, 2) and other birds sewn on to a pad of goat skin. An *ndwira*, or band of cowrie shells, was frequently worn round the forehead.

[Glossary of Frequently Used Chewa Terms]

1. anamkungwi (sing. namkungwi): instructors of youth selected on the basis of their knowledge of medicines; there are 3 male and 3 female anamkungwi in every village.
2. anamwali: the name for boys during their initiation ceremonies; also the name in everyday use for girls who have reached the age of puberty.
3. ankhoswe (sing. nkhoswe): persons who serve as intermediaries in arranging a marriage. usually the younger brothers of each partner.
4. aphungu (sing. phungu): female ceremonial sponsors of a girl during her initiation rites.
5. bwalo: lit. the communal open space in a village; applied to the communal hut in which unmarried male youths live from about 5 or 6 years of age.
6. chimera: the name for maize grains at a particular stage of their processing for food.

7. chinamwali: the entire complex of initiation rites for girls following their first menstruation.
8. chire: a patch of bush near each village which is left unburned when the grass is fired early in the dry season.
9. chisamba: a dance held during the second month of pregnancy.
10. chisudzo: sing. of visudzo (q. v.).
11. chiwanda: madness caused by the spirits of the slain, as for example the spirits of enemies killed in battle.
12. chiwinda: the leader of the vinyau (q. v.) in each village.
13. chiwoko: a mkhwala (q. v.).
14. dambwe: the name of the place where the vinyau (q. v.) figures are made; it is always in a long grass or thick bush near the bank of a stream.

15. fisi: name given to the man who has sexual relations with a girl after her first menstruation if she is not already married.
16. kalulu: lit. the hare; a mkhwala (q. v.).
17. kasinja: an unclassified type of vinyau (q. v.) figure.
18. kasiya maliro: a mkhwala (q. v.).
19. kumeta: shaving. to shave.
20. kundabwi: a "medicine" consisting of the ashes of burnt roots.
21. liunde: a place in the bush outside the village near the vinyau (q. v.) dancing ground for which it serves as a dressing room
22. maliro: funeral or mourning.

23. maliya: men dressed as women with false breasts of bananas; an unclassified type of vinyau (q.v.) figure.
24. masupo (sing. supo): gifts.
25. mdulo: the causing of illness or the illness caused in oneself or another person by indulging in sexual intercourse at prohibited times, or, more rarely, by abstaining therefrom when it is prescribed.
26. mikhwala (sing. mikhwala): the more important class of grass and wicker animal figures, or vinyau (q.v.), usually supported by several men; they are believed to be the spirits of far-distant ancestors.
27. mikhwala: sing. of mikhwala (q.v.).
28. mjedza: a dance which is part of the initiation rites.
29. mtsibweni: mother's eldest brother.

30. mwini maliro: lit. owner of the funeral; the leader of the funeral ceremonies, who is generally the eldest brother of the deceased.
31. mzinda: the vinyau (q. v.) dancing ground.
32. njobvu: lit. the elephant; a mkhwala (q. v.).
33. nkhandwe (pl. ankhandwe): lit. a jackal; a special instrument which emits a noise like the cry of a jackal.
34. nsengwa: a shallow basket used constantly by women in their work and regarded as a symbol of womanhood.
35. nyanda: bark cloth made from the mamba (acacia) tree.
36. sing'anga: the doctor or medicine man; it is not clear from the text whether he is a shaman or sorcerer or both.

- 37: vinyau: lit. representations of animals; most broadly, the name of the Chewa secret society characterized by animal figures evidently believed to be reincarnations of the dead, and ceremonial dancing - esp. at funerals and initiation rites - involving the use of these figures; also seems to be used more narrowly as the name of the dance complex itself, in which large animal figures of grass and wicker, masks and other disguises play the principal part. There are three classes of figures, or vinyau: (1) the mikhwala (q. v.), (2) the visudzo (q. v.), and (3) a miscellaneous group. The vinyau dance has been adopted by the Dowa Ngoni for funerals and sometimes for initiations.
- 38: visudzo (sing. chisudzo): the lesser class of figures, or vinyau, consisting of masks and other disguises worn by single men; believed to be the spirits of the children of far-distant ancestors.
- 39: viwongo (sing. chiwongo): generic term for sibs.
- 40: zinthambo: mourning bands of plaited grass.

/For information concerning the relation between population patterns and land utilization, and particularly with regard to the resettlement program carried out by the Colonial Administration, see 5: Allan, FR 5 Ngoni, category 116. Only specific data have been marked for this file, whereas there is much relevant information in the generalized sections of that source. --Analyst/